

FORUM

The Sirois Report *A Discussion of Some Aspects*

By

Frank H. Underhill

Robert F. Legget

Dorothy G. Steeves

Canada's Democratic Army

Miles Resartus

Inertia In Newfoundland

Wilfred F. Butcher

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The Second Winter

AT THE END of the third week of October the war news is better in that the German bombings of London seem to have failed of their purpose and the German invasion of Britain seems to have been necessarily postponed. But the bombings have not stopped, and the Germans have learnt how to continue them without such large-scale losses of their own planes as marked the first few weeks. During a long, wet and cold winter, when the poorer classes will inevitably suffer more than the well-to-do, will come the worst strain upon British morale. Let us hope that Herbert Morrison instills more vigor and more imagination into the government's civilian protective measures. As the Germans shift the main theatre of war to the near east they once more demonstrate the value of possessing the initiative. It looks as if they are going to get control of most of the Balkans without having to fight, at least until they run up against Turkey, and perhaps not even then. The Russian ability to stop them and the Russian willingness to try to stop them are both doubtful. The desertion of France has left the British position in the eastern end of the Mediterranean very much weakened, and compels the British forces to remain on the defensive. We may as well face the fact that all this is likely to make a pretty black winter. But the control of the seas by the British fleet is still unshaken and the British air force grows in power every month.

Japan and the Axis

AS THE WEEKS GO BY the agreement between Japan, Germany and Italy looks more and more like window-dressing to impress the citizens of the totalitarian states. Japan has not proceeded to the blitzkrieg against Shanghai, Hong Kong, the Dutch East Indies or Singapore. The only help the European and far eastern allies can give each other is in the timing of their actions. The British and

American navies across one half of the globe, and the U.S.S.R. across the other still keep the two wars separated and distinct. If the alliance were meant to impress the United States, it has failed, for the American response has been to encourage Britain to re-open the Burma road. Japan is very vulnerable to economic sanctions and perhaps these will be made even more stringent by the United States this winter than they are already. But perhaps the real purpose of the totalitarian alliance was to work a squeeze play against Russia and to discourage her from too active an intervention either in China or the Balkans.

The Need for Parliament

MR. KING has thought better of his first too clever idea of summoning parliament only for formal purposes in November and then dismissing it till after the new year. Has it never occurred to him that if he wishes to continue to conduct the war through the agency of a party government he must show a great willingness to expose his government to questions and criticisms from the other parties? The secretiveness of the government at Ottawa is the one thing that will convince the public of the need for a "national" government, even though Mr. King is so powerfully assisted in an undisturbed tenure of office by the Conservative leader's habit of opening his mouth only to put his foot into it. Apart from such questions as civil liberties and the rise in the cost of living and the wheat problem—all of which become more serious as time passes—there are three matters which have come up since parliament adjourned and which need explanation on the floor of parliament now. There is the Canadian-American defense agreement, clearly becoming of greater importance with every month. There is the St. Lawrence waterway agreement. And above all there is the serious problem of how the government intends to finance the war from now on. What is to be the relationship between loans and taxation, how determined is the

professed intention of making us reduce our private consumption, how effective is the machinery for checking inflation before it has gone too far? This side of our war effort needs frank and serious discussion in detail. The time for academic essays written by someone in the Bank of Canada and read by the minister of finance has gone by. And would it be too much to suggest that the time is approaching when our government should enlighten us as to whether they mean by democracy what more and more English speakers are saying that England means, or whether they have any positive constructive war aims at all beyond the elimination of Hitler?

War Aims

IN BRITAIN they are thinking as well as fighting. Nothing is more striking than the way in which the centre of their thought has shifted during the past six months. When the war started the air was full of blithe schemes for European or world federation. It was a new international order that was put in the forefront of war aims. Now it is a new social order, which more and more writers and speakers are declaring must be established both in Britain and Europe as the basis of any enduring international order. And the essence of the new social order is the abolition of privilege and the setting up of a genuinely democratic way of life. You can find expressions of this view in papers all the way from the *Times* to the *Left Book Club News*. What makes one sceptical is that you can't find any members of the Churchill-Labor government committing themselves to the new order except in the vaguest language. Where does Mr. Churchill stand? If Britain is fighting for democracy the best way to convince the peoples of Europe of the fact is to start reconstructing her own social and economic institutions.

"The citizen of a democracy," says Geoffrey Crowther of the *Economist*, "should be guaranteed not merely his political liberties, but also the economic minimum without which the pursuit of happiness is merely an empty phrase. In this conception of a bill of human rights the individual would be guaranteed, merely by virtue of his citizenship, a certain minimum of food and clothing and decent shelter. He would be assured of a sufficiency if he failed, through any of the accidents of life such as unemployment, old age or injury, to be able to earn his own living. Whatever his economic standing, he would have access to full and careful medical attention. He would have education to develop all his capacities. Above all, the

community would see to it that the blessing of children did not march hand in hand with the curse of poverty . . . Nor would such a national minimum be too costly for the community to bear. At a rough calculation such a minimum would absorb about half of the national income of Great Britain . . . It is surely not much to suggest that the first half of the community's income should go to insuring a minimum standard of decent living for all its citizens."

Harold Laski expounds a similar point of view. "The nation is now ready for great changes. It is not merely that they are demanded by the growing force of the labor movement; it is also that the social experience of the war has produced among intelligent business men and, no less significant, among the armed forces, the realization that irrational privilege is in democracy the most fatal barrier to national unity . . . There could be no greater idea behind the strategy of democracy than a decision to use the experimental temper the war has produced to enlarge and deepen the boundaries of democratic society . . . This is a policy of wisdom from the international angle also. Part of our need is to destroy the hold of Hitler and Mussolini upon their own countries and those they have subjugated. We need to prove to them that the kind of world our victory will shape is better, no less for them than it is for ourselves. The way to that proof is to proffer convincing evidence of our own faith in democracy, and the most convincing evidence we can offer surely is to make democracy more real in Britain as a prelude to its re-establishment abroad."

Both of these quotations are from articles written in the *New York Times* to explain to American readers what is going on in the British mind. Why do our loyal Canadian papers contain so little about these developments in the British conception of the cause for which they are fighting?

Americana

FOR THE FIRST NINE MONTHS of 1940 gold to the extent of four billion dollars was imported into the United States. Total gold holdings, not including that held under earmark for foreign governments or banks, now amount to over twenty-one billions, some eighty per cent of the world's monetary gold . . . Excess reserves in American banks have reached the unprecedented sum of seven billions. What a lovely base for a war-boom inflation! . . . In the poll-tax states—Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee—only about eleven per cent of the adult citizenry vote, as against an average of sixty-six per cent in the non-poll-tax states.

Education and the Opinion Industries

THE WEEK OF NOVEMBER 10-16 is set aside this year as National Education Week, and teachers' organizations across the dominion have chosen the theme, Education for Democracy in War and Peace, as the one to which it is most vital at this moment to direct public attention. No doubt there will be a good many polite and platitudinous editorials written and speeches delivered on this topic. For a devotion to education is part of the folklore of our modern western world. Teachers themselves do not as a rule make good spellbinders, but the professional spellbinders find no ideals to which they are fonder of paying verbal tribute than education and democracy.

Max Lerner a year or so ago invented or popularized a very useful phrase—the opinion industries. He used it to denote all the various organizations in the community which exist for the purpose of moulding or influencing public opinion in one way or another. In its broadest sense it would include the press; the radio; advertising in all its forms; the publishing of books and periodicals; a good deal of the entertainment world, especially the movies; and the two oldest and most respectable of the opinion industries, organized religion and organized education.

The fact that such a phrase could come into use shows that we have all in recent years become conscious to what an extent opinion, including our own opinion, is artificially made. With the spread of popular education modern society has become dependent for its successful functioning upon mass opinion; and the ruling groups in all countries, democratic as well as totalitarian, have discovered that social solidarity can be produced by the manipulation and moulding of mass opinion. We have all become more or less aware of the fact that in our society as in all other societies this process goes on continuously, and we have given it a name—propaganda. So striking has been the effectiveness of propaganda in our time that we are inclined to doubt whether there is any opinion which a determined and well organized propaganda campaign could not instil into the minds of the majority.

In our democracies however, when we are tempted to pessimism about human nature, we are wont to console ourselves with the thought that we shall probably be saved from becoming complete automata by the competition of conflicting propaganda agencies. To free competition among the opinion

industries we cling though free competition is slowly disappearing in most of the other major fields of industry. We observe, when we look abroad, that in the totalitarian countries the opinion industries have all become the monopoly of the state. And students of the fascist and communist systems explain to us in detail how the state uses the machinery of propaganda, and especially the agency of the schools, to precondition the minds of its citizens so that they will willingly accept the leadership of the groups who have installed themselves in power. This has produced among us a reaction against state tyranny which is no doubt healthy enough in itself. But it may be that we are not directing our attention to quite the right point when we study the totalitarian opinion industries and reach this conclusion about them. It may be, in fact, that some of our own opinion industries have been assisting us, without our being quite aware of it, to reach this very conclusion.

In our own so-called democratic societies the striking fact is that so many of our opinion industries are in the hands of private enterprisers working for profit. We have been slowly deciding that industries which are affected with a public interest should either be publicly owned and conducted or should be put under some form of public control and required to conduct themselves according to certain publicly determined standards. Our schools have long been, for the most part, under such public ownership and control. But—leaving religious organizations out of account, because an examination of their part in forming public opinion involves too many special considerations which would take us too far afield at the moment—most of the other opinion industries among us are in private hands. We have an uneasy feeling that this is not altogether a healthy social condition, but so far we haven't done anything much about it. Most of us know, for example, that "freedom of the press" today really means in practice the freedom of an increasingly narrow group of rich men and rich corporations to give us what news they think will be good for us in our daily papers. Of course free competition in supplying the daily news still exists in principle. Anyone can start up a new paper. All he needs is a couple million dollars or so. In fact, however, the new paper is not started. And in the United States this semi-monopoly in one of the great opinion industries has produced a general public resentment so widespread that in the 1936 elections the people voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt though their newspapers were overwhelmingly against him, and they seem likely to do the same thing this year under the same circumstances. Occurrences such as this are encouraging

in so far as they show that the ordinary man is not always a mere passive consumer of opinions that are supplied to him ready-made by somebody else.

But an occasional exceptional case like this does not alter the general rule. We carry on our daily life amidst a bombardment of propaganda from all sides. The plain citizen in "making up his mind" about public affairs, about that immense and intricate unseen environment which impinges more and more upon the little personal world to which his own experience is confined, is more and more helpless. In our democratic societies as well as in the dictatorships we approach ever more closely to that "brave new world" in which a governing elite of wealth or power manipulate the verbal symbols through which mass emotions are swayed and mass attitudes created. There are too many people already in our midst who frankly believe that a rational manipulation by some group of insiders of an irrational mass mind and irrational mass reactions is all that any democratic society ever actually achieves. And if you have doubts about this just take a little time to observe and study the methods by which national solidarity is being sought in our own society in the midst of war.

It is at this point that we come upon the really vital consideration when we are examining education as one of the opinion industries. With us in the democratic countries it is still true on the whole that education differs from the other opinion industries in that it tries to form opinions by training the reasoning power of its subjects rather than by manipulating their emotions. Our educational system was inherited by us from eighteenth-century rationalists who had a great vision of a free society of rational human beings who would make their joint decisions on public affairs by going through a continuous dialectic of public discussion. It was to fit them for this dialectic that our system of universal free education was built up. But continuous discussion means, of course, that all things are to be questioned, including the whole social system of which we are a part. And the truth is that no society has ever permitted its educational institutions to encourage too much questioning of its fundamental beliefs and values. So that the schools also become partly an agency for instilling certain beliefs, teaching certain dogmas, rather than for training the student in habit of mind in reaching his conclusions. And every teacher knows that, however much lip service may be paid to the principle of free inquiry, he is under constant pressure to see that his pupils graduate with correct opinions, the opinions of right-thinking people. In the totalitarian countries the schools have become the chief agency in ensuring these correct opinions.

A liberal education is one in which students are

being fitted to play their part in a free society. Such an education must not neglect their imagination or their emotions, but it must be mainly interested in training their reasoning faculties. If it can turn out even a minority of inquisitive sceptical young people who have been more or less immunized against propaganda by having acquired the habit of bringing their intelligence to play upon all questions that are presented to them, then our society will be saved from totalitarianism. The fate of democracy, in fact, is bound up with the survival of the scientific attitude of mind.

What chance is there that our schools and universities will be allowed to continue inculcating not orthodox conclusions but the scientific method of reaching conclusions? Probably in the long run the freedom of the schools is bound up with the freedom of the other opinion industries. A society cannot exist half slave and half free. What is the way by which we shall get a free press, emancipated both from state dictatorship and from the control of private wealth? Surely it is only by the achieving of professional independence for the newspapermen. The gathering and sifting of news so as to present each day to the newspaper reader an intelligent and objective picture of his unseen environment is a highly complex technical business which requires long training and the severest intellectual discipline. When the news is entrusted to the control of men who have gone through this training and acquired this discipline we shall have the only kind of a free press that is attainable in a society of imperfect human beings. What we need to worry about in this field is not state control against private enterprise, but high technical standards of training and genuine professional independence. So in the case of our educational system. The best guarantee of its autonomy in a society that drifts increasingly towards regimentation is the organization of its professional workers. If the teachers as a profession are prepared to stand up for their right to carry on their work according to their own best standards, our schools will continue to be devoted mainly to the training of free citizens. But this right will not be granted without continuous struggle. We need to remember that at the root of the intellectual and spiritual crisis of our day is a challenge to the whole scientific attitude of mind, the attitude of which our educational system should be the chief guardian.

Professional organization and autonomy will not solve all the problems of the relation of education to society at large. But it is the first step towards protecting the position of education as an opinion industry which devotes itself to training students' reasoning powers rather than to manipulating their emotions.

The U. S. Votes

ACCORDING to most competent observers the American presidential election is already decided and the only question is as to the size of the Roosevelt majority. Before the end of this summer most signs had pointed to a Republican recovery. The Democratic tide, which had reached low ebb in 1928, when the Great Engineer was elected to continue the boom and put two cars in every garage, had flowed steadily after that for ten years until the mid-term elections in 1938. Then a change of current had set in and the Republicans began to come back. Seventeen Republican state governors were elected in 1938, and Republican membership in the house of representatives was almost doubled (170 members). After Mr. Willkie's nomination in June of this year the public-opinion polls showed him in a slight lead in electoral-college votes, although President Roosevelt still had a small majority in the popular vote. But since then the Willkie forces have been slipping. A Democratic popular and electoral-college majority seems assured on November 5, with even the big pivotal states like New York, which were previously assigned to Willkie, now in the Democratic column. President Roosevelt's popularity, according to the Gallup polls, has gone up every time there is a crisis overseas; and now the Axis powers, having created a most severe crisis during August and September in the battle of Britain, appear to be intent on another nice little one for October and November in the Near East or the Far East.

We must remember, however, that a new house of representatives is also being elected and that one third of the senate is being voted on. A great deal of the effectiveness of presidential leadership during the next two years will depend upon the complexion of the two houses. And this will depend not merely upon the relative number of Democrats and Republicans but much more upon the relative number and determination of progressives and reactionaries. What that will be we cannot tell until the two houses have met and got down to business. One of the president's chief troubles since 1938 has been the reactionary anti-Roosevelt bloc of Democrats in both houses.

The minor parties, it seems to be agreed, will count for even less in this election than they have in the last two or three elections. All attempts since the depression began to launch a farmer-labor movement that could challenge the two old parties have failed dismally, and no such movement is in sight just now. Instead there has been built up under Roosevelt leadership an American version of the Popular Front, operating through the machinery of the Democratic party. The division of voters

in this election will be more definitely along class lines than it has ever been before. Never since they were first ousted from political power by Andrew Jackson have "the rich, the wise and the good" been so solidly lined up in one political camp. You can see this class division wherever you look this month. In the universities the presidents are nearly all for Willkie and the intellectuals among the professors nearly all for Roosevelt. The big daily papers are ninety per cent for Willkie, reflecting the opinions of their owners, while the working newspapermen are probably almost as overwhelmingly for Roosevelt. The real significance of this election is not in the policies or professed policies of the rival party organizations but in the way in which voting support is divided.

Yet it must be acknowledged that if the voters put President Roosevelt back into office for a third term they are doing so without any clear understanding of what moves he contemplates in either the domestic or the foreign field. This election will choose the administration that will almost certainly be responsible for deciding whether the United States goes into the war or not, how she organizes not merely her army and navy and air force but her whole economy for total defense, what part the American nation will play in the peace settlement, and how the peoples of the whole western hemisphere will make the critical transition from a war to a peace economy. What clear light on any of these tremendous problems will the voters have as they go into the polling booths on November 5?

How will the New Deal shape up in the mobilization of American resources, material and human, for hemisphere defence? How much of the spirit of social reform will survive the hysteria of prolonged war preparation and perhaps of participation in a prolonged war? This depends a good deal on whether the national defense advisory committee, or whatever organization succeeds it as the agency that has the president's ear in mobilization policies, is dominated by business men or by New Dealers. If Willkie should become president there would be no doubt who would win in the struggle for power which is now going on in Washington. We do not know yet who will win during a Roosevelt third term. The most encouraging thing is the dynamic part being played by Sydney Hillman, who bids fair to replace both Green and Lewis as the real spokesman of American labor. The discouraging thing is the failure of the administration to compel firms like Bethlehem and Ford to conform to the rulings of the N.L.R.B.

In the sphere of foreign policy there is equal doubt. All that is certain is that the United States will spend billions in creating an enormous military defense machine. But, beyond territorial defense,

for what purpose is this mobilized might to be used? It is clear now that only by constructing a maximum of defense in a minimum of time can the United States have any surety of being left at peace in the western hemisphere by the aggressive totalitarian powers. But will she use her power to stop Japanese aggression in China, by armed intervention if necessary? On what terms will she continue to give help to Britain? Sooner or later the Anglo-German struggle in Europe will reach the stage at which Britain is no longer fighting merely for survival but is taking the offensive to settle the future of Europe. What kind of European organization is contemplated after Hitler and the Nazis have been eliminated? On this question the silence is as deep in Washington as in London. Yet sometime in the not distant future one or both governments must enunciate some positive policy. In particular, what role will the United States be willing to play in assisting or guaranteeing a European settlement? All sorts of fantastic Utopias are being designed in the British countries about this theme, based chiefly on a blithe ignoring of American history and American conceptions of American interest. But the American elector is about to choose a government at whose opinions on such questions he can only guess.

A further problem which the government of 1940-45 will have to face is that of the economic defense of the western hemisphere. In the long run to what purpose will the naval and air bases covering North and South America on both the Atlantic and Pacific fronts have been constructed if the pressing economic difficulties of the American countries are not met and dissipated? The western hemisphere has great surpluses of some commodities which it must sell profitably somehow, and which it has been accustomed to sell chiefly in Europe. Of these surpluses wheat and cotton and coffee have provided the most headaches since the start of the depression in 1930. The hemisphere also suffers from certain commodity deficits, in such things as rubber, tin, and some other metals. Can a western-hemisphere economy be organized from such a starting point? Some of the most far-seeing New Dealers in Washington, of whom Henry Wallace is one, have been making plans to defeat the internal danger of Nazism by a gradual reorganization of hemisphere production and distribution. Will they have an opportunity of working these plans out in practice during the third term? Canada is vitally interested in this aspect of the American election.

Behind all particular issues there looms up one great general question to which the American people will also partly be giving an answer on November 5. We cannot put this better than it was

put by the *New Republic* in its *Voters' Handbook*.

"In our opinion there is one issue that is so large that it overshadows every other. It is customary to say that we are now living in a great crisis in world history, but few understand how deeply and thoroughly that is true. What has been collapsing in the past twenty years is not just a temporary period of prosperity or a specific peace settlement. It is the civilization that men have been building in the western world ever since the middle ages. Hitler, in one sense, is merely an incident in this great change; he has been giving a fatally sick society its *coup de grâce*. We live in revolutionary times. We need imagination, boldness, faith, experiment, readiness to act, if we are to preserve what was good in the past and create something new that is better. It is not a question of defending what we have against an assault; those who assume the defensive on a large scale are lost. The need of the times is basic revaluation and thorough reconstruction. Nazism and fascism pretend to offer the world such revolutionary values. Their campaign is not just one of military power and deceitful intrigue; even more it is one of ideas and dynamic emotion. They can be defeated only by an equally revolutionary and dynamic movement . . . Conservatives are utterly unfitted to cope with this crisis. They do not have the faintest shadow of understanding of what is happening; they are automata imprisoned by their own habit and prejudice. The leadership of men with their eyes on the past has defeated nation after nation in the past months. The New Deal is far from an adequate remedy to offer the world in its desperate need. But at least it is a groping in the right direction; it has broken through the crust of custom and offers a chance for something better."

In the last hectic days of an election campaign it takes either a visionary or a very cool realist to discern any great issues amidst the shouting and the mud-slinging. But what the American electors are deciding in this election is whether they will be able during the next few years to offer the rest of the world a chance for something better.



The Sirois Report

--A Discussion of Some Aspects

The Sirois Commission as Historians -- *Frank H. Underhill*

ONE SIDE OF THE WORK of the Rowell-Sirois commission to which not enough attention has been directed is its contribution to the re-writing of Canadian history since 1867. The whole first volume of the report consists of an historical survey, and a considerable part of the special studies done for the commission by its experts also represents historical research, notably the two very able volumes by Prof. D. G. Creighton on British North America at Confederation and by Prof. W. A. Mackintosh on The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations. The commission was of course not engaged upon a history of the rise of Canadian civilization; its attention was directed only to those features which bore upon dominion-provincial relations and primarily upon dominion-provincial financial relations. But its work may be said to sum up the conclusions of the present generation of Canadian historians, economists, and sociologists; and if it is being widely studied, as seems to be the case, we may at last grow into a community with some realistic knowledge of its past.

The report of the commission has been out of print since early last summer, a fact which shows that a widespread interest has been taken in it. This is something that never happened to any book of any contemporary Canadian professor, and is encouraging. For while the general line of historical analysis taken by the commission will be familiar to all who have kept in touch with the writings of Canadian academic students during the past ten or fifteen years, these writings have hitherto made little impact upon public opinion. The ordinary Canadian was brought up in the doctrine that Canadian history is a romantic saga of the deeds of dashing explorers and daring business men and dynamic statesmen, which deeds by some mysterious and unexplained process all combined to produce the mess in which he, the ordinary Canadian, lived during the 1930's. Naturally he brushes such history aside as having no bearing upon the real problems of his life; and since there is nothing so dull as meaningless romance, he tends to conclude, as Principal Hutton once concluded, that "our Canadian history is as dull as ditchwater and our politics is full of it." If he could get into his head a pattern of our real past such as is sketched for him in the commission's documents, he would tackle

the problems of our future with a good deal more insight and understanding.

What is the pattern of our past development which emerges from the commission's studies? What is the impression of the meaning of Canadian history which the reader of the report will get?

One dominant impression is that Canada has been largely the sport of world forces which she could not control and which mostly she did not understand. This is not the impression which you get from reading most of our political history, for that seems to be the story of a people and its leaders who lived a secluded life during most of the nineteenth century, sheltered from the rough impact of world events by the protection of geography and the British Empire, and intent mainly upon domestic problems. But here the theme is entirely of an attempt at nation-building which is being alternately helped or thwarted by great outside impersonal world trends.

The far-reaching, imaginative and constructive plans of the Fathers were immediately put into operation after 1867 and flourished till 1873 when they ran into the obstacle of the world depression. The next twenty-five years of Canadian history are entitled The Great Depression, a long lean period of declining world price levels and sickly markets which meant disappointment and internal strife in Canada. The gospels in those years began in Exodus and ended in Lamentations, said someone. Then world currents changed and the Laurier government, by a lucky accident for it, came into office just when every factor in world economic conditions began to favor Canada. Prices started up again, and the prices of agricultural products which we had to sell rose more rapidly than those of industrial products which we had to buy, especially of the iron and steel which we needed for the era of railway expansion. Ocean freights became extraordinarily low, and interest rates on money reached the lowest point in history. The result was our wheat boom. But Canada's abounding prosperity in those years depended upon continuous capital investment, and we could not forever keep on importing capital without sooner or later having to pay interest in the form of permanently increased exports. We were just coming face to face with this question when the war saved us from a reckoning; and war demand for foodstuffs and munitions enabled us to supply the necessary exports. The reckoning came in 1920 when we discovered that we had built up a lop-sided and very shaky economy.

World recovery again saved us from having to face the problems that were accumulating, and then finally came the crash at the end of the 1920's.

The commission's analysis of how our government met this last depression is one of the most striking parts of its report. It is written in very careful and guarded language which is full of qualifying adjectives and clauses, but the net effect is a damning commentary on the statesmanship of the early 1930's. The government's adoption of an extremely high tariff and its adhesion to orthodox finance distributed the inevitable burdens of the crisis most unevenly, and produced cleavages within the Canadian community which the commission is evidently inclined to think might have been avoided by another policy. "The risks and dangers connected with monetary expansion and currency depreciation were great . . . But a skilful policy, which perhaps was not too much to expect in view of the serious problems of the time, could have avoided them. It would have been possible by any one of a number or by a combination of methods . . . to depress the exchange value of the dollar without causing a wild flight of capital or a serious loss of foreign confidence in Canadian credit."

The picture that emerges from all this is of a country whose statesmanship seems brilliant and constructive only when world conditions are favorable, but is largely helpless when dealing with adversity. The commission report produces the impression of a kind of fatalism. We are in the grip of great impersonal world forces which determine our destiny, and there seems something almost pathetic about the petty *homunculi* who strut momentarily across the political stage in Canada. The commission and their experts have written a highly impersonal history. One seems to be witnessing "a ghostly ballet of bloodless categories"—wood, wind and water; steel, steam and rail; alloys, hydro-electric power and internal combustion engines; prices, rigidities, expansions, contractions. What has become of all our Macdonalds and Lauriers? A history without individuals, without personalities, cannot be epic or tragedy; and of course royal commissioners cannot allow themselves to discern comedy or to indulge in irony or satire. The main effect, therefore, is a terrific deflation of our self-esteem as individuals and as a community.

Incidentally, though there was not a single Marxian who got within miles of the commission's deliberations save when Tim Buck appeared to present the Communist party brief, the whole report in almost every sentence, every paragraph, every volume, is a powerful exercise in the economic interpretation of history.

This fatalistic conditioning of our efforts by outside world forces is brought out still more when

the commissioners study the ebb and flow of the spirit of nationalism in Canadian history. Nationalism—as against provincialism, localism, separatism—flourishes when world conditions permit us to be economically prosperous. The leaders of the new nationality showed an exuberant confidence in nation-building projects for the first few years of confederation, and they won widespread popular support. Then with the great depression beginning in 1873 came a revival of provincialism and a retreat from nationalism. The federal government, in whom was vested the responsibility for national developmental policies, faltered. By a curious coincidence it was just in this period of retreat that the privy council began to deliver its judgments in favor of provincial powers. Then after 1896 came a second period of nationalism, achieving a sounder basis this time because the growth of the west made for east-west traffic and produced a genuinely integrated national economy. Local grievances were submerged when all sections of the national community were getting a good share of the general prosperity. The war gave the national government another occasion for real national leadership.

But the strain of the war produced new cleavages; and the commission is very interesting in its analysis of the disintegration of nationalism in the 1920's and 1930's. Old sectional cleavages revived and deepened, and Canada was in addition disrupted for the first time by a new class conflict. "In the minds of many the conduct of the war had denied and disproved the basic community of interest upon which federal leadership and initiative must always rest." Quebec, agriculture and labor, all opposed conscription. "Their interests were failing to find expression in the federal government's interpretation of the supreme national purpose." After the war the new political movements "assumed the contradictory and opposed character of group interests, and saw federal politics as an arena where these antagonistic forces struggled for mastery." All these disintegrating trends were of course strengthened by the depression of the 1930's.

In addition, as the commission points out, new economic developments in central Canada and British Columbia after the war gave their regional resources new outside markets, and undermined the national integration, achieved through wheat, which tied the country together by east-west bonds of trade. "The dominion had completed the concrete positive tasks which the Fathers had set it to do, and no broad new national objectives emerged to unite people behind federal leadership. . . . The policies of all-Canadian transportation and western settlement had been brought to fruition. The tariff was a bone of regional contention rather

than a unifying influence. . . . The 'new men' of the period, the adventurous figures who discovered and developed the wealth of the Pre-Cambrian Shield, exhibiting all the vigor and self-confidence of a rising class, associated themselves as a rule not with federal politics but with those of the provinces where the key to their interests and aspirations lay."

And so we come to the late 1930's and the appointment of the commission itself. What is the moral to be drawn from their long historical analysis? We must not become fatalists, and they did not intend us to do so. We must try to learn wise courses of action from the experience of the past. And it is hard to see how a perusal of their studies can fail to have a chastening effect upon Canadian statesmanship. The Canadian economy which we have built up since 1867 is a very vulnerable one, extremely susceptible to the pressure of outside forces. "Our 'boundless resources' are worth only what we can sell them for." And "Canada's success will depend not only on her own skill and efforts, but also on the continuation of an interdependent and integrated international system of trade and finance." "Every country," they sum up, "could display a list of surplus and deficit resources, but in few would both sides of the balance sheet contain such basically important products in such volume, and in few would the extremes be so great."

Situated as she is between Great Britain and the United States, and vitally dependent on them in her external economic relations, Canada's position, they say, "is similar to that of a small man sitting in a big poker game.* He must play for the full stakes, but with only a fraction of the capital resources of his two substantial opponents; if he wins, his profits in relation to his capital are very large, and if he loses he may be cleaned out." Living next door to the United States, Canada has been subject to the impact of "the notoriously abrupt and extremely fluctuating North American business cycle," and "she is compelled to accept the full measure of fluctuation which accompanies the highest standard of living in the world—without as high a standard of living to absorb it." From the internal point of view she is half a continent with diverse regional economies and interests. "Economically, Canada can be compared to a string of beads, and they are not all pearls."

With all these external and internal conditioning factors surely the moral that emerges from this study is twofold: first, that, having equipped ourselves with as clear an understanding as possible of the kind of world in which we are likely to be

*It is to be presumed that this very apt simile originated with some member of the secretariat rather than with any of the four commissioners themselves.

living, we must consciously and deliberately plan our economic activities; and, second, that our planning must be based upon a properly modest estimate of our capacities. At the moment, in the midst of a second world war, we need chiefly to beware of that inflated national ego which some excited publicists are doing their best to induce in us by grandiose visions of Canada's role in settling the future of the world. If we let ourselves go in dreams of this kind we shall end up with some tempting project as costly to our national welfare as the three transcontinental railways.

Conservation -- *Robert F. Legget*

THE FIRST INSTRUCTION given to the royal commission on dominion-provincial relations reads as follows: "That, without limiting the general scope of their enquiry, the commissioners (shall) examine the constitutional allocation of revenue sources and governmental burdens to the dominion and provincial governments, the past results of such allocation and its suitability to present conditions and the conditions that are likely to prevail in the future." This is one of the four sections into which was divided the commission's "re-examination of the economic and financial basis of confederation and of the distribution of legislative powers in the light of the economic and social developments of the last seventy years."

That the economic well-being of Canada, with which the commission was so closely concerned, is directly dependent upon the great natural resources of the dominion is almost a truism. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that in the monumental report of the commission there should be found some discussion of the relation of natural resources, and particularly their conservation and balanced development, to the fundamental economy of the dominion. Such an authoritative discussion should today have a greatly enhanced value, in view of the necessarily accelerated exploitation of some resources (particularly timber) for war purposes, and the opinions already being expressed with regard to a great post-war increase in population made possible by Canada's "boundless untouched natural resources."

These natural resources, certainly not boundless, and only in small measure still untouched, may be grouped into those that are renewable and those which are not. Some, of course, are not economically available. Renewable resources include the forests and all wild life, fish, game and fur-bearing animals, together with organized agriculture. Resources not renewable, within the ordinary time limits of economic study, include all the mineral wealth of Canada, and the top-soil on which successful agriculture is dependent. Water power must be

classified separately; it is renewable in full provided that forest cover is renewed and soil erosion is prevented, rainfall and "run-off" thus being unimpaired. It is upon these bounties of nature that Canada's economic welfare is maintained. Upon their conservation and balanced development the future of this great country depends.

What is to be found in the Sirois report about these vitally important aspects of Canadian economy? A close study of the report has yielded a disappointingly small return. Upon one somewhat isolated, but quite important division of conservation the commission does report somewhat definitely. The gold mining industry of Ontario is discussed in the factual review of the provincial economy, and the weakness of the link which it forms in this economic structure is stressed. And although this reference occurs in book one (p. 196) this significant statement follows: "From the point of view both of owners and of society a large proportion of the returns from an industry of this nature should be treated as capital amortization, and the construction and capital equipment activities which it engenders must be recognized as non-recurring. Not only will the inevitable depletion of these resources reduce incomes directly and indirectly derived from them, but it will also create problems of social adjustment which will require extensive governmental intervention and assistance." In the same volume (p. 230) when Ontario's revenue is under discussion, this statement is made: "The closely related public domain revenues are also less than average, the important mining industry yielding less than one-half a million a year in royalties and licenses. This is particularly notable in view of the wasting character of that industry's assets, its high current rate of profits, the large public expenditures which were made to facilitate mining development, and the large public expenditures which will have to be made when the mines are exhausted." The consequent desirability of conservation measures, or financial preparation for future social adjustment, is then stressed.

These recommendations, so surprisingly presented in the first part of the report, are naturally reflected in book two. On page 130, this more general recommendation is to be found: "The problem of exhaustible resources is no less important. Their exploitation should be as efficiently carried out as modern science permits; the rate of exhaustion should be determined by the broadest economic and social considerations, and not solely by the immediate profits of the private producer concerned; in preparation for the day when the last ore-truck trundles out and the last pump stops working, every alternative means of livelihood for

the dependent population should be surveyed and developed; and provision must be made in the days of high profits for the amortization of public expenditures on roads, schools, utilities, and other works which will no longer be needed, and for the welfare costs which inevitably accompany such serious adjustments."

Despite the tentative way in which their suggestions with regard to the mining industry of Ontario (and of Canada in general) are advanced, they are to be welcomed. All who have ever been in a derelict mining area will know how essential they are. They reinforce with additional authority the eloquent and moving plea for a balanced development of Canada's mineral wealth made by Dean J. J. O'Neill, of McGill University, in his presidential address to section IV of the Royal Society of Canada in May of this year. (This address,* with its forthright questioning of the ruthless exploitation of our natural resources with a view to immediate profit, and its demand that action be taken *now* to survey, protect, plan and conserve our natural resources should be required reading for every young Canadian, and be read and reread by all students of Canadian economic problems.)

The commission present one other specific statement regarding a leading industry concerned with the exploitation of natural resources—again in connection with practice in the province of Ontario and again, significantly, in the first volume of their report and not the second (p. 194). After mentioning the development of the lumbering industry in Ontario, and its change to pulp and paper production, the commission have this to say: "Although the pulp and paper industry with efficient forest management and conservation methods could be a permanent and stable one, it still appears to be more profitable to the individual entrepreneur to gut the resources of one locality and move on. Whether this would be true if the industry were charged with the social costs of rehabilitating or salvaging the dependent labor and industries in the derelict areas, which are a necessary accompaniment of this practice, cannot be determined. But the development of conservation policies and the achievement of greater stability within the industry would appear to be necessary if these resources are to be exploited to the best advantage and are to contribute to the support of the whole economy as they have in the past."

What of conservation as a national policy? What of the dangers of progressive soil erosion, of depleted inland fisheries, of decreasing water supplies, and vanishing forests? Little, if anything,

*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Section IV, Volume XXXIV, 1940; also reprinted in pamphlet form.

is to be found upon these important aspects of Canada's natural resources in the report. There are some insignificant factual references in book one. The index to book two contains only five references to conservation; there are also two or three indirect references to it in the same volume. Of these, all but two are either incidental or minor statements of fact. The two exceptions, therefore, assume some importance in that they present the commission's findings with regard to conservation.

The first (p. 115) reads as follows: "It is quite true that it would appear that adequate conservation policies are not, in fact, now being generally followed. This, however, is entirely a matter of provincial policy, and under the general arrangement proposed in the commission's fiscal plan all provincial governments are assured of sufficient revenues to carry out any reasonable and desirable conservation program. Public interest in conservation is evidently increasing in Canada, and if adequate funds are made available considerable expansion in this work may be expected. It is also true that certain specialized forms of natural resources, other than mineral deposits, are subject to exhaustion in the sense that conservation or replacement would be uneconomic. For example, the white pine of the Ottawa valley and New Brunswick, the black walnut of southwestern Ontario, the black spruce of the lower St. Lawrence the Douglas fir of British Columbia, many forms of wild life and some agricultural prairie lands have been, or are being, exhausted, and their replacement is not practical."

The second reference (pp. 129, 130) is largely taken up with a justification of leaving all questions regarding the development and conservation of natural resources under provincial control. Excluding a paragraph about mining development, already quoted, this section finishes thus: "The commission has adopted a generous basis for calculation of the adjustment grants, and a generous formula, in its mining tax apportionment proposal partly to make possible more adequate conservation measures. It was brought home clearly in both the evidence submitted in the commission's hearings, and by the work of the commission's research staff, that conservation work in general has been seriously neglected, and that far too little attention has been paid to developing the most economic methods of exploiting Canadian resources. Investment in this work is one of the most profitable which Canadian governments can make. There are resources, of course, which cannot be restored or maintained, and there are others which could only be maintained at excessive cost. But the great proportion of our forest resources, our soil resources, our fish and game, can be maintained and improved to the great

advantage of the country for generations to come with the use of foresight and a very modest investment."

This modest statement which is naturally to be welcomed appears to be the considered finding of the commission, despite their own conclusion that conservation work in Canada has been seriously neglected. As a scientific statement of fact it is not open to question. Mild as it is, it lies buried in the midst of the voluminous report, now unfortunately over-shadowed by tragic events in Europe. (It is only because of the size of the report that such extensive quotations have been made in this review.) As a clarion call to action to the Canadian people, the statement can hardly be regarded as adequate.

That action is necessary, all students of conservation know well. They know, too, that natural resources are not limited by provincial boundaries, that their depletion will proceed, unless controlled, regardless of the "provincial interests" which apparently acted as such a restraint upon the findings of the commission. They know that many European countries have demonstrated what national conservation policies can achieve. And knowing this, they share Dr. O'Neill's wonder as he asked, in the address already referred to, "Why should autocracies have a monopoly on five-, ten-, or fifty-year plans? Is our collective intelligence less than that of a dictator or a bureaucracy? . . . Why not take out some insurance for the continued prosperity and development of the country as a whole?"

A British Columbia View

Dorothy G. Steeves

THE OBSERVATION that the Rowell-Sirois Report saw the light of day at an unfortunate time is becoming somewhat trite. Two years ago the main constitutional issues seemed clear to the majority of the Canadian public; the depression had served to wake them up to the fact that taxing powers and functions requiring generous government expenditures were inconveniently separated. This was widely publicized as the chief stumbling-block to national progress. Had the report appeared during the brief period of recovery and fond hopes for the future, there is no doubt that many would have regarded it as an answer to prayer. Now, with long-cherished economic beliefs and expectations of stability consigned to the melting-pot, there is a growing suspicion that our present requirements have far outdistanced the commission's recommendations; in fact, many, on perusing the report, have the dreamy feeling of bewilderment and frustration which was experienced by Alice in

her excursions through the looking-glass—after prodigious efforts the desired object always seems to be just out of reach.

Canadian socialists who were not fooled by a temporary return to business prosperity or by appeasement as a likely instrument for maintaining peace, had pointed out that a mere fiscal rearrangement would not be enough to solve Canada's problems in a world which was in the throes of a social revolution, but that Canadian federalism would have to be reconstructed in the light of the necessities of modern civilization: social planning, social security and provision for collective international agreement. These are functions which can only be carried out by strong, centralized action. The hope that the dominion would be able to act in matters of supreme national importance has been nullified in the past by judicial decisions which have almost destroyed the dominion residuary power and given to provincial property and civil rights an abnormally swollen importance. Yet, at this time, when Canada will be faced as never before with the necessity for bold national action to plan, to strike out new paths, the Rowell-Sirois recommendations contain no suggestion as to how the dominion is to attain full power to accomplish these tremendous tasks. In regard to possible future agreements on the international field, the commission did not see its way clear within the terms of reference to recommend that the dominion have full powers of implementation (with the exception of international labor conventions). In view of recent events and the rapprochement between nations on this hemisphere, it seems likely that Canada in the future may enter into international agreements which will result in the necessity for national economic adjustments and planning; the dominion government would have to possess the power to act decisively and quickly.

From the point of view of progressive British Columbians the report presents some very serious questions. Long-range social planning is a real necessity to British Columbia because her prosperity is dependent on export trade and on natural resources which are subject to gradual depletion. In matters of social security, particularly in public health and hospitalization, British Columbia is somewhat more advanced than the rest of Canada. There is a vociferous public demand for these services to which even Liberal governments have to lend an ear. British Columbia is far ahead of the other provinces in per capita expenditures on public health and hospitalization. She has pioneered especially in the realm of mental hygiene. In these achievements tribute must be paid to the provincial secretary, Dr. Weir, the only truly liberal member of a Liberal government, who has been sadly

hampered by the political machine in which he finds himself enmeshed.

Threat of war and war itself has been a fairy godmother to British Columbia industry. The B.C. C.C.F. movement has taken the province's ability to pay into account in its provincial program which plans for a generous extension of social services through steeply progressive income taxes and succession duties. In the event of the report's recommendations being adopted and implemented, provincial governments which were considerably ahead of the rest of Canada in their social thinking would have to face up to a difficult problem of financing; because progressive taxing powers, or financial resources which are capable of expansion, would be taken away from the provinces and replaced by benefits which would be more or less rigid except in times of widespread unemployment. To a provincial socialist movement, which may probably be faced with the responsibility of government for some years before a similar group can be elected to take office at Ottawa, the implementation of the Rowell-Sirois report will signify a drastic revision of provincial plans. Probably the socialization of industry, which would be revenue-producing, would have to proceed at a far more rapid pace than originally planned for, because the breathing-space to be afforded by steeply graded taxation would not be possible. Other measures might have to be taken which would be subject to the danger of disallowance; in spite of Professor Forsey's gibe at the "timid socialists," disallowance in the hand of a reactionary dominion government, used politically and arbitrarily, as it has been in Canadian history, does constitute a very real threat to a progressive provincial regime.

Admittedly the foregoing is a short-range view of the royal commission report. The inconveniences of the transition period could be overcome and overlooked, if the report gave a real hope of a federal arrangement under which all the requirements of the coming new epoch in Canadian economy could be fulfilled. But the report falls very short of social expectations. While it is quite logical that the progressive taxing powers should be placed in the hands of the dominion government, the natural corollary to this fiscal arrangement should be that to the dominion should go the supreme and central responsibility for social security. Instead, the Commission specifically states: "It is fundamental to our recommendations that the residual responsibility for social welfare functions should remain with the provinces, and that Dominion functions should be deemed exceptional to the general rule of provincial responsibility" (book II, p. 30). This will result in the same old piecemeal arrangement of social service juris-

dition as Canada has had in the past. Many had hoped that the commission would recommend a provision for a broad, all-embracing social insurance and security scheme, somewhat along the lines of that which is now in force in New Zealand. While Canada has been very backward in the field of social welfare compared to other countries of equal or even smaller commercial importance, the pace of progress will be forced on rapidly in the future. Of course provision would have to be made for concurrent powers in social welfare legislation to be given to the provinces, in the same way as is recommended in the field of labor legislation.

The contention is now, in the commission's report, that welfare services can be promoted and made uniform by the dominion through the device of national adjustment grants. But these grants are unconditional and perpetuate all the old horrors of provincial rights and peculiarities, making it very doubtful that any uniformity in welfare services will be achieved thereby; although it is pointed out that the subsidy evil, with all its shabby, backdoor begging and bargaining, will be avoided, one suspects that the national adjustment grant in the hands of a slick politician, may turn out to be the same old devil after all, its cloven hoof and tail neatly wrapped up in a more civilized garment.

The question of uniformity and central responsibility in social welfare is particularly important to British Columbia. The pleasant coast climate and the legend that it is a land of unbounded opportunities bring to this province not only the young transient unemployed in times of depression, but at all times a large number of people who are elderly, unemployable or likely to be in need of government service in some shape or other. The recommendation that the dominion should undertake responsibility for the employable unemployed is all to the good, but in regard to the unemployables the commission has ideas which are pure Tudor. In this day and age it is obsolete to imagine that the unemployable can be cared for by local or provincial "poor relief" (the expression in itself is objectionable). In a good many countries it is coming to be realized now that some kind of little pension or decent maintenance for unemployables, on a higher scale than employable relief (because it is a permanent condition), is a government responsibility; New Zealand has an invalidity pension. There is a far greater number of this class of people than are listed on relief rolls today. Many of them have been created by the depression and war conditions may create many more problem cases who will never work again. The dominion government recognizes only one class of permanently disabled people as pensionable, the blind over 40 years old;

yet there are many gifted blind people who are far more able to do useful work than other disabled unemployables, who now are subjected to humiliating relief regulations and starvation rates.

Health insurance is another crying social necessity. While this is a measure which will undoubtedly have its beginning in progressive provinces, there will soon be a demand for dominion action, in view of the fact that the larger such an insurance scheme is, the greater the benefits will be. British Columbia has a famous museum piece, its stillborn legislative child, the Health Insurance Act of 1936. Dr. Weir was the father, the legislature the mother and the C. C. F. acted as the midwife; but big business and the medical association never permitted it to breathe. While the royal commission recommends that notwithstanding the dominion taking over the income tax, the provinces should be allowed to retain the right to collect a health insurance premium from income, nevertheless, under their plan, progressive taxes on income for health insurance could not be allowed; moreover to make health insurance all-inclusive the government would have to contribute considerably from general taxation and it is doubtful whether under the commission's plan provincial governments could afford to do this.

Is it not time that we visualized the possibility of a dominion-wide social insurance scheme on a contributory basis, where feasible, but extending equal benefits to those who were not privileged to pay their share? One of the possible results which we may look for after the war is an enormous new influx of population. Now is the time to prepare our social machinery, so that Canada may be fitted adequately to care for these new citizens. Social security in the future will be the real unifying factor of Canada and the basis of a new Canadian culture.

May 1940

Here in this shade of silence,
the river breaks its frozen hush,
and a robin bounds past on rubber feet
crisping the brittle leaves.

But in the brain,
guns thunder the minutes down,
and marching feet
trample the ecstasy of May.

CAROL CASSIDY

A Reply to Mrs. MacInnis

Ken Woodsworth

IN HER ARTICLE in the August issue, Mrs. Grace MacInnis levels a severe attack upon the Canadian Youth Congress. Beginning with a listing of organizations which withdrew from the recent congress, she continues with a searching criticism, covering a wide field. Yet throughout the article there is scarcely one constructive idea and no reference whatsoever is made to what the congress actually achieved and what support it still has. Perhaps it would be fair to judge the congress on its merits, and not only upon its faults.

A perusal of the reports adopted by the congress is sufficient to show that its deliberations did result in positive and worth-while conclusions. The charge of Mrs. MacInnis that the congress failed to accept the "clear-cut" position proposed in the amendment submitted under the aegis of the C.C.F. delegates cannot be substantiated by any comparison of the amendment with the reports as actually adopted. The amendment in fact added nothing to what was already said. It is our belief that the Canadian Youth Congress did face the issues vital to most Canadians.

The Youth Congress will be judged on what it does and says in a given situation: however, Mrs. MacInnis comments at length on past policies and insinuates that there was something "fishy" about the congress this year. She stresses the emphasis placed on a policy of collective security for peace, during past congresses: a policy which might well have prevented war, had it been applied. (Incidentally C.C.Y.M. delegates in past congress constituted the most active opposition to that stand.) No one will deny that there has been a change in the program of the congress: a change which reflected the profound changes which have occurred in events: a change which took place through free and democratic discussion during a whole year and was a natural expression of the changing thoughts of the young people. Criticism of the congress on this score is nonsense, and dragging in the usual "whipping-boy" of Communism cannot destroy the truth.

The next charge that must be answered is that the Canadian Youth Congress in Montreal was not representative of youth and that the movement can no longer claim to represent Canadian youth. The congress decisions seem to us to represent youth opinion on the whole, quite apart from actual attendance figures. However, what about attendance? At the congress were delegates from United Church Young People (whose national executive has subsequently reaffirmed its support of the

Congress), Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., S.C.M. clubs, Conservative (one), Liberal (several) and C.C.Y.M., United Farm Young People of Ontario (and the Junior U.F.A. appointed a delegate who was unable to attend), trade unions, unemployed, a large French-Canadian group and others. This was certainly pretty representative. A real analysis of attendance figures at past congresses does not bear out the charge that this congress was relatively weighted by small unimportant groups. The only important group that withdrew from it was the National Y.W.C.A. This action was taken by a national secretary and a member of the board (not delegates) quite autocratically against the will of the girl delegates. In spite of all the publicity, the fact is that only about a dozen from the 275-odd delegates actually withdrew. The congress is not perfect, but it is unquestionably the most widely representative group of youth in this country, and it is democratically organized and operated by youth.

So far this article has been a defense of the Canadian Youth Congress against the charges laid by Mrs. MacInnis. It is not our wish to indulge in needless recrimination, but Mrs. MacInnis' remarks raise some pertinent points which she would do well to answer. The vast majority of delegates at the 5th Canadian Youth Congress were anxious to do some serious thinking and planning for the welfare of youth in Canada. From the beginning it was evident that there was a small group which did not share this sincerity of purpose. A bloc of Young Liberals from Winnipeg (with a few satellites from Montreal), who had been a dissident group for some time, had come convinced that the congress was not on the square and they were eager to whitewash the policies of the Liberal government. It was quite within their rights to express opinions in opposition to the majority. This they did and their opinions are recorded. But often their opposition passed into deliberate obstruction of the proceedings of the congress and it was proven at the end that some of them had come for the sole purpose of splitting the congress.

One would hesitate to impute similar motives to some of the C.C.F. delegates present. Why, then, did David Lewis, national secretary of the C.C.F., Mrs. MacInnis and Andrew Andrashnik—all three members of the C.C.F. and not properly youth at all—come to the congress as C.C.Y.M. delegates, do most of the talking for the C.C.Y.M. and take independent action on points where their own caucus did not agree?

The amendment to the "loyalty" preamble, of which so much ado was made, was drafted originally in the C.C.Y.M. caucus, where it was discussed. No agreement could be obtained among the

C.C.Y.M. delegates on this preamble! Yet a few of the C.C.Y.M. leaders used a ruse to get it introduced, by asking a United church delegate to present it. In presenting it, he was betraying the confidence of his own caucus and all the Christian delegates, who had previously agreed upon a formulation mutually acceptable, after long discussion. The split, which might well have been avoided, was achieved; but it was a splitting away of a small minority of the delegates—mainly Young Liberals—with whom the C.C.Y.M. leaders chose to identify themselves. The honest youth delegates to the congress will not readily forget or forgive those who were responsible for this and the opportunity it gave for false and vicious newspaper attacks on the congress as well as the unfavorable impression created in the minds of many misinformed people. Mrs. MacInnis might explain her own part and that of David Lewis in this unpleasant business.

Mrs. MacInnis called her article "Crisis in the Youth Congress." In conclusion she says: "Only by facing up to the question of the war and the grave problems arising from it, only by making the congress a thoroughly representative and democratic body, can the Canadian Youth Congress hope to give the lead to Canadian youth." In this we would certainly concur. This was certainly the problem facing the 5th Canadian Youth Congress and it was faced up to by the delegates. It was a problem of trying to maintain an objective and free youth movement, keeping open the channels of democratic discussion and criticism at a time of increasing regimentation of thought and action; and, by doing so, to preserve the democracy which alone can save us from going the way of France. The opposition came from those who wanted to white-wash government policy and turn blind eyes to the real needs of the Canadian people and who tried to disrupt the congress when their purpose could not be achieved. The crisis is now passed for the Youth Congress. The Canadian Youth Congress will continue to function as a democratic, representative and progressive body of youth on the basis of the reports of the fifth congress. How effective it is to be in the future depends on the support of democratic and progressive people.

Civil Liberties

MOST OF THE PROSECUTIONS under the Defense of Canada Regulations appear to have little to do with the defense of Canada, ranging as they do from the St. Polycarpe farmer who was fined \$50 for failing to remove the weeds from his field to the banning of a British pamphlet "Is War Christian?" and the periodical "Peace News." At least we know now why Canadians can't be trusted with literature still allowed circulation in Britain. It is because the motherland's population is

predominantly Anglo-Saxon while Canada's is not, according to the press report. Also refused entry were the Japan Times Weekly, Christian Social Action of Detroit and another French paper. And the Regulations have been amended so that "subversive" articles seized are forfeited to the crown. ¶ A former magistrate, Chas. McAfee, is charged with causing disaffection at Campbellton, N.B. Chas. Murray, onetime secretary of the Seamen's Union, has been interned at Halifax for reasons undisclosed. Henri Roberge of Three Rivers is serving three months for "statements contrary to the Regulations" and Paul Seguin got a similar sentence at Hull for causing disaffection and prejudicing recruiting. It was his second conviction. German-born Wm. Miller of Toronto is charged with prejudicing recruiting but German-born Mrs. Rose Cruikshank was acquitted of making disloyal statements when she claimed she hated Hitler. Samuel Levine, U. of T. instructor, is out on \$3,000 bail awaiting trial for having "Communist" literature in his possession, which he claims belonged to two roomers. He has been dismissed from the university. On appeal by the crown at Sudbury, R. T. Stevens' fine was increased to \$50, which still failed to make Mr. Conant happy. ¶ Zealous school boards continue to do their bit by stamping out heresy in the primary grades. Hamilton has expelled 27 pupils and they've also been having their troubles in Kitchener. In the latter city two parents were given suspended sentences on the promise that they would in the future refrain from advising their children not to salute the flag, but according to recent reports the young Jehovah Witnesses have been acting up again. Ottawa has advised Toronto that the matter is one of discipline and Toronto has advised Hamilton that any prosecutions under the D. of C. Regulations must be instigated by local authorities, though provincial police interviewed the parents of 14 children. So far no prosecutions have taken place, and only one pupil has been reinstated. A member of Mr. Conant's staff has stated that "he knew of no law compelling anyone to salute the flag or sing the national anthem," and Mr. Hepburn admitted that the trouble seemed "purely religious." ¶ Elsewhere members of the banned sect were appealing: The conviction against two Toronto men was quashed at Whitby, regrettably by the judge, on the grounds that they had been arrested before publication of the Canada Gazette giving notice of the outlawing. Three young girls in London have appealed on similar grounds, while Clarence Leeson and wife, parents of two expelled school children, were jailed under D. of C. Regulation charges. V. E. R. Mowll and John Lowther of Moose Jaw were fined \$20 and costs for being members of the sect, and similar cases may be expected from Edmonton, where attendance at patriotic exercises has been made compulsory. ¶ Even the Toronto Globe and Mail has become alarmed at the arbitrary way in which suspected persons may be interned without due course of law—particularly in the Franceschini case. The Trades and Labor Congress in convention demanded that interned labor officials be given the right of trial and defense counsel. ¶ The United church has asked that regular tribunals be set up, as in Britain, to deal with conscientious objectors. ¶ Canada, no doubt unwittingly, has participated in the internment of British anti-fascist refugees whose cases are now being investigated and some of whom are being returned to Britain. R.C.M.P., provincial and city police have made further concerted raids in Montreal, arrested several alleged Communists and seized 25,000 circulars. They are looking for the hidden press used to turn them out.

Canada's Democratic Army

Miles Resartus

ON OCTOBER 9, some 30,000 young Canadians just entering legal manhood converged on specially prepared camp centres throughout Canada for a period of thirty days' military training. In succeeding months, more thousands will be called up. On completion of their month of continuous army work many will, no doubt, enter the non-permanent active militia, in which about 107,000 Canadians are already enrolled. Here they will continue their training on the basis of two or three nights a week with two weeks in camp during the summer.

The purpose of this plan, which will gradually involve the majority of physically fit men of effective military age, is to begin the preparation of Canadians for the defense of Canada. Concurrently, the training of those who volunteer for service outside Canada in the army, the navy or the air force will proceed on a full-time basis. As the need arises, many who have begun their training for defense under the mobilization plan will no doubt enter the units designed for expeditionary purposes. But the majority of them will in all probability see their actual fighting (if any) on Canadian soil.

Even for that purpose, there are differences of opinion about the efficacy of the training prescribed. Some critics contend that thirty days is an utterly insufficient time in which to impart any useful amount of military instruction. They place the minimum variously at six months, a year, or even eighteen months. The layman may at first be inclined to side with such critics. But it is notable that those loudest in their clamor for a longer period of training have been the civilian editors of some of our leading newspapers, who were also the most vociferous advocates of pouring ever larger forces of Canadians into Great Britain during the early months of the war, contrary, it is now hinted, to the wishes of the British government. It is perhaps significant, too, that these same papers have been generally those most strongly opposed to the party now in power at Ottawa and loudest in their demands for a "national" government after the electorate had voted that party back into wartime office by a very large majority.

But viewed in its proper perspective, there is much to be said for the defense training plan decided upon. It is important to remember that Canada's primary and all-important contribution to the war effort is industrial and agricultural.

Any training plan for home defense must avoid, at all costs, interference with our production of military supplies, raw and finished, and of foodstuffs. The plan of training prescribed can be carried on without much of such interference. Moreover, it was probably never expected that thirty days of training in military camps would finally qualify young men to take their places in the front line in present-day, largely mechanized warfare. It is more likely that the intention was to familiarize large numbers of young Canadians with the conditions of military life, increase their physical fitness, lay the foundation of more intensified defense training for smaller numbers, and perfect a plan for effective selection and mobilization of the latter. Perhaps an even more important object was in mind: to stimulate a lively democratic consciousness of the need, under current conditions, for Canadians to be prepared to defend their own soil against the new and aggressive world forces bent upon the destruction of the democratic principle.

The present mobilization and training scheme can unquestionably be made to achieve this last mentioned end. The real question is: Will it? And this seems a point deserving some examination.

If you ask a Canadian officer of the first world war whether he thinks that it is possible in thirty days to impart any useful amount of military instruction to a lad of twenty-one raised in the post-war era and without any previous army experience, you are apt to get a reply that runs something like this: "Well, at any rate, it will be possible to give him some idea of discipline. He will learn to do what he is told without any nonsense. And that's something that these youngsters of the rising generation need to have pounded into them." And a certain hardening of the eye and stiffening of the jaw betokens, especially to anyone who was in the army in the last war, the kind of thing that is in store for these young upstarts who have been allowed to think they have minds of their own.

Now, obviously the army is not a finishing school for sissies. But there are two connotations of the word tough. One is expressed in the words, tenacious, unyielding, inured to hardship; the other—that of the gangster—in the words violent, bullying, contemptuous of everything but brute force. Such conceptions of army discipline as that implied in the remark of our officer friend smack unpleasantly of the latter. Not all officers and N. C. O.'s in the last war were inspired by this spirit; but, alas, too many of them were, as we who were in the army at that time know. Also, it was unfortunately a tradition in most European armies that men in the ranks must be turned into creatures acting on an involuntary reflex, rather than into thinking individuals rendering voluntary co-operation. It

was less so in the Canadian army, perhaps; but there, too, the tradition had its influence. There were plenty of instances of mutual regard between officers and men; but there was also a disposition on the part of the men to regard officers as figure-heads to be openly obeyed and placated, but secretly despised. For this the officers were not always to blame. The convention that one salutes and obeys a uniform, a rank, rather than the man thus placed in authority, coupled with the uncomfortable fact that the two things did not always deserve equal respect, was mainly responsible.

To challenge such a conception of leadership is still heretical in most military quarters. Your "old soldier" will tell you that there is no other way to get large numbers of men moving and fighting in concert. Men must be taught to obey without question, whoever is inside the uniform. Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die. Conditioned reflexes alone can be trusted to do what other motivating forces may or may not do. To inspire the latter on a mass scale is too difficult; to rely upon them exclusively too risky.

Yet suppose you have a body of young men raised in a democracy, taught that it is the individual's right and privilege to think things out for himself, to choose exemplars and leaders whom he can respect, and to extend his voluntary co-operation in the achievement of ends which he deems desirable—what then? What is likely to happen when such young men are asked to become automata, yielding blind obedience to insignia of rank hung upon those who value instinctive response to orders above intelligent co-operation, and who may be the inferiors in both brains and character of those they order about. At best, a grudging acquiescence in the petty formalities, the ignorant domineering, the "drill," upon which such inordinate emphasis is placed; at worst, a smouldering rebelliousness against those placed in authority and a bitter distaste for army life in general. And, on the part of the "leaders" who sense this reaction, an increased disposition to "take it out of the young upstarts" by a still more ruthless emphasis on dull trivialities.

The first step towards a sound alternative is, of course, the assurance that only officers and N.C.O.'s who are, in fact as well as in theory, capable of intelligent leadership and deserving in themselves of the respect now accorded to rank per se, will be placed in command. But more than that is needed: a shift of emphasis from automatic response to active and intelligent co-operation. Either one or the other is obviously required to obtain co-ordination of movement and fortitude under fire. The difference between the two is largely a matter of

the spirit animating the whole military organization. But anyone who says that the difference is a negligible one merely encourages the fear that we are embarking on a scheme of military training which is on the one hand likely to be resented by young men reared in a democracy, thus resulting in mental resistance and lowered efficiency, and on the other calculated to unfit these young men for a proper functioning in civilian democratic life. Whole-hearted participation in army training can be assured only by breaking with the old tradition of blind obedience and routine performance and substituting an informed and active co-operation on the part of each individual as the ideal. This will most easily be achieved by creating a genuinely democratic basis of training. Military service then becomes merely part of the total functioning of individuals in a truly democratic state.

The trend of modern warfare still further indicates the desirability of a new conception of organization and training. The old mass movements of men and horses has given place to an integration of smaller and more varied units, in which each man is called upon to perform highly specialized duties and to exercise initiative and resourcefulness. The need for thoughtful, expert voluntary team work, in other words, has replaced the need for mass automatic response. Both the framework and the spirit of modern armies must be adapted to these demands.

Finally, a genuine devotion to democracy, as a principle opposed to the slavish regimentation of the totalitarian states, is a first requirement for service in the current spiritual and physical struggle in which we are all more or less being enlisted. Army training conducted in the spirit of the old autocratic and automatic methods is not likely to help in generating this inner motivating force in young Canadians. On the other hand, an army dominated by the right spirit can do much to intensify an understanding of and love for democracy.

Which spirit will prevail in Canada's new training scheme? The danger is that, given only thirty days, in which little specialized training in arms can be imparted, those in command may be tempted to fall back on the old, easy plan of stressing automatic response to orders and superficial formalities of drill, instead of utilizing this opportunity to inaugurate the new era of intelligent voluntary co-operation based on a thoroughly democratic view of life, which is the proper approach to later and more technical training. This tendency, if it exists, should be checked at the start by the higher authorities.

Sunshine and Shadow

LABORIOUS IN PEACE, laborious in war, courageous and calm, the workers of our province are the living models of what can be turned out by union discipline, well-founded and well put into practice, and by Christian principles deeply rooted in all the acts of daily life. It is only here, in America, and particularly in our dear Canada and our province of Quebec, the pearl of all Canadian provinces, that free and organized labor sees its rights recognized and its sanctity respected." (Mr. Godbout, premier of Quebec, in a Labor Day message, September 2, 1940.)

The total number of trade unionists in Quebec is about 83,000. (Sirois report, Appendix on Labor Legislation, p. 52.) This is probably at most about 20 per cent of the number of workers.

"Authority to reduce salaries in Quebec below the level prevailing as of January 1, 1938, has been given by the provincial government by amendments to the fair wage board's ordinance No. 4, which covers practically all occupations and positions. Under the law previously, the rates already fixed on January 1, 1938, if higher than the rates fixed by the ordinance, must be considered fixed. With regard to salaries above \$200 a month, reductions may be made, but not below a level of \$200 a month. Under the new set-up, employers may make reductions without getting permission of the board, and without notifying the board unless specifically requested to do so. The board may investigate any cases coming to its attention and restore, if deemed necessary, said wages to their legal rates or to the rates fixed at the time of their reduction, or determine new lower rates, not lower than those fixed by the ordinance. Thus the board is unfreezing salaries in this province, now preferring to allow the forces of supply and demand to operate." (Montreal Gazette, September 20.)

"Catholic teachers have pay reduced. Injustice is alleged. Cuts range from 2 to 4 per cent." (Montreal Gazette, September 21.)

"P. A. Corriveau, treasurer of the Montreal trades and labor council, who pointed out he was a former school teacher, declared 'It is a downright shame there is not compulsory education in the province of Quebec until at least the age of 16.' He protested against the imposition of fees and the threatened cut in teachers' salaries. Claude Jodoin, chairman of the executive committee, came out strongly for compulsory education, and supported a resolution that a protest should go forward against school fees. H. Corrigan, a member of the executive, cited an instance where a woman had paid \$17.40 for books for her daughter attending the

high school of Montreal, on top of which she had to pay \$3.50 a month." (Montreal Gazette, September 20.)

"Tramways seeking labor agreement. Company asks Quebec to make present contract obligatory . . . Maximum of 54 hours per week, but leeway allowed up to 60 hours a week when other men are not available. Time and a half for all hours in excess of 60 per week. Working weeks of 45 hours in the rolling stock and overhead departments and 44 hours in the car barns and construction shops. Fifty and 48-hour weeks for garage and track department employees." (Montreal Gazette, September 23, 1940.)

34,224 persons in the city of Montreal have been denied further assistance by the Montreal unemployment relief department in the past few months. By September 19, only 3,163 unemployed men had obtained work under the Bouchard plan. There still remain, according to relief statistics, 13,628 families who have been deprived of relief without any adequate provision for their care. Persons whose income is "uncontrollable," such as taxi-drivers, insurance agents, waiters, janitors and peddlers, have been cut from 375 persons assisted to 0; men living apart from their wives and families, from 17 to 2; unsuccessful settlers under back-to-the-land schemes, from 32 to 27; cases employed in seasonal work, such as gardeners, dock-hands and sailors, from 213 to 116; persons who have no identity cards, from 17 to 0; persons who have lost their employment through misconduct, drunkenness, idleness, etc., from 58 to 1; persons living in concubinage, from 86 to 65; persons who live by prostitution, illegal sale of liquor or other irregular means, from 43 to 1; non-naturalized persons, such as those born in the United States and brought to Canada at an early age, from 1,290 to 525; men who have been unemployed since 1932, the greater number over 50 years of age, from 2,111 to 927; single men and women who have had only occasional work since 1932, from 1,143 to 686; widows or deserted wives without sons of 18 years of age or over, from 1,082 to 13; women who are heads of families having a son over 18 years of age, from 430 to 206; unmarried mothers who keep their children with them, from 34 to 0; women heads of families who have been without work since 1932, from 982 to 1. The greater number of these people were left at the beginning of winter without work, without income and without means of existence. Many of them are women with small children. Private philanthropy is unable to meet the needs of this large group. It has been estimated that it would cost \$30,500 per month to maintain 1,000 of these families. This is a public responsibility which private social agencies cannot

be expected to assume. (From a statement published in the French-language press of Montreal, but not in the Montreal Star or Gazette.)

O pearl of provinces! O free and organized labor, whose rights are recognized and whose sanctity is respected! O Godbout! O Montreal!

Inertia in Newfoundland

Wilfred F. Butcher

“I WISH I COULD GET CLEAR OF IT”; so, in their own idiom, do many Newfoundlanders express their attitude to their country. The uncertainty of the climate and the rugged nature of the land are well known, often exaggerated. They are more interesting than otherwise and could not drive the more adventurous spirits away. The greatest tragedy of the country, apart from suffering and ignorance born of poverty, is the utter hopelessness of many who wish they could change things for the better but can see no opportunity of doing so; and of those who have tried, and failed.

The Commission of Government, introduced in 1934 to bring about the rehabilitation of the country, has given an economical and efficient administration. Health services have been greatly extended. Education is being improved, its standards raised, and, as soon as sufficient accommodation has been provided, it will be made compulsory. The results of land settlement schemes have been encouraging, so that a considerable number of families who were formerly dependent on relief are now self-supporting. Agriculture has been stimulated and roads have been built to open up areas suitable for farming.

But the fundamental economic and moral problems are far from solution. The average Newfoundland is unable to provide for the needs of his family. And this is not due to lack of energy. He works in the lumberwoods in the winter, possibly 'goes to the ice' for the 'seal fishery' in the spring, fishes for cod all summer, gets his own fuel from the woods in the fall, and does odd jobs in his spare time; while his women, if the family is an enterprising one, work the garden, providing the potatoes and cabbage which are such an essential part of the diet, possibly added to by a cow, chickens, and goats. Worse still, the general attitude "around the bays" and in St. John's is that "nothing can be done." The newcomer, fresh from the dynamic life of North America or Great Britain, radiates suggestions. He is met with an enumeration of obstacles. For a time he may struggle against them, but in the end he, too, becomes hopeless. The mass of the people have lost the will for struggle and change. They accept their lot, cheerfully and

with few complaints. But they wish they could "get clear of it." They have heard that "things are different Away."

The primary factor which explains the failure of the Commission of Government is that which led to the American Revolution — the existence of the Atlantic Ocean. It has proved impossible for a small committee, responsible to and under the veto of the dominions office, thinking in English terms and subject to English conditions, to solve a grave social and economic problem in North America, without more personal and technical contacts with the United States and Canada.

The only politically articulate people in Newfoundland are a few dozen families who have lived for generations by importing and exporting according to the mercantile principles of the last century, and are opposed, naturally enough, to any radical economic change. They exert considerable individual and communal pressure on all who are responsible for the government of Newfoundland, both in Great Britain and at St. John's. Among the more thoughtful and educated and the handful of professional people denominational and race differences create almost insurmountable barriers against any co-ordinated effort, discussion, and even thought. The mass of the people are too isolated and ill-informed to affect decisions of the ruling class and the Commission of Government, except as holding certain well-recognized prejudices.

An increasing number of Newfoundlanders, especially among the younger generation, look to confederation with Canada as the only hope. From Canada it might be possible to obtain specialists with the necessary understanding of the character of the people, which is far more akin to that of North America than of Great Britain. Technical and marketing services must obviously be co-ordinated with those of the Maritime provinces. And in Canada Newfoundlanders might find that remunerative employment which their own island cannot give.

Were the issue of confederation to be put to the people in a referendum today it is not unlikely that it would be defeated. The fisherfolk of the outports have not forgotten the arguments made against the proposal when it was raised in 1866, that the Canadians would tax their lands, houses, and fishing sheds. They have little money, if any. How could they be expected to pay such taxes? They know little of Canada, which is far away, and they have heard that Nova Scotians are not too pleased with their part in the dominion. The attitude of the merchant classes has been governed by the facts that their exports were sold, almost entirely, in the sterling market, and of their position of privilege in so small a country. But the war is

rapidly increasing trade with North America. Canadian responsibility for defense, and the establishment of an American naval base, must strengthen the ties with the continent as a whole. Personal connections of the merchant class must naturally become more North American than trans-Atlantic. These must surely lead, with other forces, towards a recognition of the impossibility of maintaining the island as an autonomous country, distinct from the neighboring dominion.

In Newfoundland live but three hundred thousand courageous, friendly people; cheerful despite poverty and tragedy. This, with a certain charm and strength about their character, wins the heart of the "foreigner" who "comes from Away." But his chief emotion must be one of sadness that Newfoundlanders have so little faith in the possibility of change that few make any effort to bring it about. The few include young graduates of the University College, who have caught from their former principal, John L. Paton, some social concern; young civil servants who have not lost their illusions; workers of the Grenfell Mission in northern Newfoundland and Labrador; leaders of the young but vigorous trade union movement; and rare individuals in other walks of life. Such men and women are the greatest assets of Newfoundland.

O CANADA!

Labor-C.C.F. Link Alleged by Hanson

(Headline in Montreal Gazette, Oct. 9, 1940)

The books which are now at No. 3 police station on Ontario street east, include the complete leather-bound works of **Lenin**, together with hundreds of other volumes entitled, "Communist Doctrine; Communist Infantile Sickness; Historic Pages," written by **Karl Marx, F. Engels, S. Martel, Alfred Costes**, and other well-known red leaders . . . the books will be taken to a city incineration plant and burned.

(Montreal Star, Sept. 23, 1940)

Ladies of the press meet Schiaparelli who shows them her tricolor handkerchief printed with the words and music of one of the last songs sung by Maurice Chevalier at the Casino de Paris. Her lapel ornament suspended from a white enamelled true lovers' knot is a small gold cage hung with teardrop crystals. Inside is a red, white and blue heart . . . the heart of France.

(Picture caption in Toronto Saturday Night, Oct. 12, 1940)

This month's prize of \$1 or six months' subscription goes to John G. Withall, Montreal, P. Q. All contributions should contain original clipping, the date and name of publication from which taken.

It Can Happen Here

Raymond Souster

HE WAS CLEANING UP THE STORE for the night, ready to close down after a hard day's work, when something crashed through the window. The sound of the thick glass breaking made him jump. He felt his heart beating faster. And he saw two forms running past the window with the big jagged hole gaping wide in it. And he heard the sound of their feet dying away down the block as he looked at the brick that had been thrown through the window, lying on the floor.

He was glad almost at once that he hadn't run out after whoever had thrown the brick. Probably some young fellows who were taking advantage of the anger that the papers had worked up that day at Italy entering the war with Germany. It was a childish anger after all, and besides the window was insured.

In the afternoon after hearing Mussolini's speech and declaration of war over the radio, he had gone down to the Italian club to see how his friends were taking the lightning change that would affect all their destinies. It was a bright day, with the sun high and sky clear, and he walked the half-dozen blocks to Beverly street feeling happy and loving the world. A couple of people looked at him a little strangely, but he didn't mind that in the least. He wasn't any fascist. He was a Canadian citizen and had his papers to prove it. The deafening cheers that had gone up after Il Duce had finished speaking had flooded the back sitting-room with noise, but it had awakened in him no emotion save that created by any shoutings of a great crowd.

He found the club packed with fellow members, who were talking and gesticulating as if the world had come to an end. The ones who were nationals, of course, had some reason to be worried and make a lot of noise. Their property would all be confiscated and they would spend the rest of the war in an alien concentration camp. Some, he knew, were ardent fascists, and he didn't shed any tears at knowing they would be pulled in by the police, but there were others who hated the present rule and its rulers in the fatherland as much as he did, and he felt sorry for them. They had only themselves to blame, of course, for not taking out the necessary naturalization papers.

He had a couple of glasses of wine and when he was tired of hearing all the troubles and heart-breaks of honorable fellow social-club members, he put on his hat and left. He went by the Italian

embassy and noticed the police guarding the formerly magnificent building now a little the worse for wear. And the upstair windows were covered.

That evening the family had gone to the movies. He was afraid there might be a little trouble and it might be better if his wife and children weren't around. His wife had argued a little with him but he had stood firm. Then, as soon as they were gone, he thought he shouldn't have let them go off alone. His family might be attacked or insulted in the street. But it was too late to do anything about it now . . .

After he had looked a long time at the broken window, he got a broom and swept all the glass up. Then he turned the store lights out and went in the back of the store. He got his glasses and settled down to reading the evening paper.

Half an hour later a second crash of glass brought him to his feet with a jump. He ran out into the store and saw another gaping hole in the window. And a second brick lying on the floor. He felt anger sweeping through him at the way he, a good Canadian, was being treated; as if he was a fascist traitor. And he wanted to chase the ones who had thrown the bricks and catch them and give them a good scare. He wouldn't hurt them or get into a fight, but he would scare them plenty. And he ran into the street and ran after the two dark figures who were half a block ahead of him.

He didn't have much fat on him and he quickly caught up to the window-smashers. He grabbed at one of the boys and stopped him. The other one ran on around the corner.

"What do you think you're doing, breaking up my window?" he said to the boy, trying to sound as angry as he could though all the anger had gone from him now. The boy was only about fifteen and he looked scared out of his wits.

"Honest, I didn't do it, mister. The other fellow threw the brick."

"Don't try lying to me," he said to the boy, "I saw you throw it. You and me had better go along to the police-station."

"Don't, please don't, mister. I won't do it again. Please don't take me to the cops."

"You promise you won't ever do it again?"

"Sure, I promise, mister."

"All right, I'll give you a break this time."

He let the kid go. The kid ran off around the corner.

He started to walk back to the store. He had scared that kid plenty. He could tell that by the way the kid shaked while he held on to him.

He came to a street corner and started across it. He heard footsteps right behind him and looked around. Four tough-looking men were coming at him as if they meant trouble. He could see it in

their eyes. One of them had a fedora bent down over the side of his face. One of the others wore a cap.

"Grab the Wop. Hitting kids, eh?"

"We'll show the Dago."

The four of them were on him all at once, punching him. Blows were raining at him from all directions. A fist hit him square in the jaw, hard. It made his head go blank with pain. As he went down, he got a kick in the groin that made him sick with a shooting paralysis. He couldn't raise a fist after that. Something hit him in the face and he went out.

When he came to his head felt as if it was cracked in. There was a crowd standing around him in a circle, and a policeman. He tried to move, to get up, but something was broken and he lay back again on the sidewalk, sobbing with pain. He moved his hand up and around to his face and drew it across it. The hand felt wet and sticky. Blood.

He fainted away again just before the ambulance came.

Tea-Pot Meteorology

Herbert N. Cowan

THE OLD MAN was very angry. Word of the new proposal had reached him somehow, and for two days he had remained sulking in his hut, refusing to see anyone. Now the people of the tribe were puzzled and excited, and also afraid, for it was rumored that Hulga was plotting a new attack on them with all his hordes. How could they hope to avoid defeat if the Old Man and the spirits that he alone could influence were not with them?

"You must go to him," said one of the elders to Teg, the young leader of the radical group. "You must go to him, and tell him that you will forget your mad ideas. Then he will come out and smile again, and we shall be saved."

But Teg was a visionary, and could not be swayed from his purpose. And his followers supported him.

"No," he replied, "my plan is good because it is founded on truth. I shall not give it up. But I will visit the Old Man, and this time he *shall* hear me."

So Teg went to the Old Man's hut, and thrusting aside his superstitious reverence he forced his way in. It was not difficult after all, for He was unbelievably shrivelled and feeble. And oh, so angry. It was a wonder that his anger did not kill him.

Fortunately Teg was a kind and intelligent young man. He waited in good-humored patience until the patriarch was completely out of breath. Then

he placed a hand gently over the venerable mouth and began to speak.

"Listen Father," he said, "first I shall recall some things which you already know but must surely have forgotten. We are a tribe of hunters and fishers who wander from place to place with the seasons, following the bounty of nature. We are not by nature warlike, and among ourselves we are reasonably tolerant of each other's rights, wishes and habits. However, we are a large tribe and in the past we have considered ourselves powerful."

The Old Man struggled fiercely.

"But within, as it seems, only a few moons," Teg went on, "our position has changed, so swiftly that you do not appear quite to comprehend what has happened. First the tribe of Hulga took to remaining in one place and tilling the land. Then the tribe of Argaz did likewise, and others are following—some voluntarily, but many by compulsion; for Hulga and Argaz are very powerful now, and the members of their tribes are slaves in all but name."

A crowd had collected outside to await the result of the interview, so near that their murmuring was audible inside the hut.

"Now we are entirely surrounded by these land-tillers," said Teg, "and before winter comes we must force our way out, or be subdued by them and lose our freedom. Yet our plight is not entirely hopeless, for we are not the only strong, free tribe left in this country. The tribes of Elboon and of Silno are both our equals, and there are many smaller ones. Our interests are all exactly alike, and there is more than enough for all of us in the land. Yet at present we are rivals, disputing senselessly about matters which, in view of the common danger, are obviously of not the slightest importance. If we were all united into one enormous tribe we should be so powerful that we could defeat Hulga and Argaz easily, perhaps even without bloodshed."

"What my followers and I suggest, then, is that you and Elboon and Silno and the rest should live and work together, jointly administering the affairs of all our people. Nothing stands in the way of our union except the fact that we are now separate."

Then he removed his hand from his unwilling auditor's mouth, and was at once exposed to a storm of senile invective.

"You are a —— impudent young upstart!" piped the Old Man furiously. "You and all your —— followers. Your suggestion is disloyal drivel, and I will hear no more of it. Go away from here. You are no longer a member of my tribe. And may the dogs not choke on your bones!"

Teg smiled at him, pity and amusement mingled in his face.

"You are very old," he said, "while I am young and strong. I could do you much damage before help came. So, since I am to be eaten by dogs anyway, you are going to offer me proof to support your attitude. You are so confident, I am sure that you must have satisfactory arguments. Let me hear them."

His ruler glowered at him for a moment, then moved impatiently to a bundle of personal belongings in the rear of the hut and fumbled in it.

"You must be incredibly stupid," he raged, "not to understand for yourself how utterly unthinkable, even criminal, your plan is. But you are right—I have one sacred proof which you cannot deny. See!"

The Old Man straightened, and in his hand was a bleached, gleaming human skull.

"No outsider has ever before seen it," he said in hushed tones. "It is the skull of the first of all the Old Men of the tribe, who died more years ago than any man can count. It was preserved by his successor, and ever since has been handed down from one Old Man to another. This is the symbol of our tribal greatness, all our history is centred in it. To show it even to you is almost sacrilegious. Is it not plain to you now that to let an alien tribe share our hallowed traditions would mean utter humiliation for us?"

Teg gave way to helpless laughter.

"And so your sacred proof," he said at last contemptuously, "is nothing but a dried-out piece of bone after all. It is not good enough, Old Man. And you are still weak, while I am strong. Either you will agree to my suggestion, or you will die at once, and I shall take my chances with the tribe."

As he spoke, he closed his hands persuasively around the Old Man's neck. For a moment it looked as though his victim was going to fly into another transport of rage, but he quickly saw that he was beaten.

"Very well," he said sullenly, "I am at your mercy. You may go and tell the people that I am willing to do as you ask."

But as the triumphant Teg was leaving the Old Man's hut he was struck and killed by a well-aimed human skull, thrown with astonishing force, which proves that you can't ever trust a politician.

Having at once concealed the sacred object, the Old Man explained to his people that Teg had been slain by the wrath of God, in punishment for his impious opinions.

The Old Man used to think of the episode often when he was digging in Hulga's private garden the next year.

Bourgeois Sunday

The faces grinning out of sods profane
the templed hills where burgesses devote
their earnings to the god, and cast a mote
to serve as beam among the deftly slain.
"Let relations never be mundane
among them. It is ours to promote
the virtue that secures us every vote
and tempts the stupid poor not to disdain."

Whose faces are they? darting tongues of fire
among the dividends that Time has left
within the souls whose tendency to burst
is seated in the rot that flies require
to multiply in thousands, make bereft
the life that spooned the knitted flesh at first.

ALFRED G. BAILEY

Stiff

He slowly walks with self-effacing tread,
The heir of barren years,
And finds in stranger's eyes
Mute comment on his time's decay.

Then stares from parapet at ships
Till time is meaningless
And only hunger's certainty
Lends strength for movement.

There will be no fireside greeting
At his return:
Only the chill of silence waits
In rented room.

ROBERT McKEOWN

Portrait

the
warehouses loiter
along the waterfront
gnawing
on concrete cigarettes
and staring with sullen mazda
eyes across
the harbor the snoring
harbor to where
a shrewd
dawn
haggles
with
the horizon

HAROLD SILVERMAN

Wedding

You think that you have her at last,
All of her, body and soul;
The primitive spark of the mind,
The least and the most of her, whole . . .

Ah, but the legends deceive;
Your eyes are but traitors and knaves,
Since women more lovely than she
Are asleep in their graves;
Since passion more searing, is cold;
Since roses more lovely are not;
Remember your dreams if you will . . .
What else have you got?

When the long dream is over and done;
When the valleys are shrouded in mist,
And her voice is no more to be heard,
And her lips are no more to be kissed,

You will find what you wedded, in fine,
Blaspheming the gods if you must . . .
A heart, and a mouth, and a brain . . .
And all of them dust.

R. H. GRENVILLE

I Have Built a Cocoon of Content

I have built a cocoon of content
about me—silken and soft—
Do not harry me
back to the tortuous journey
on ground and trees—
These
were laced out
by silver on silver thread.
Thick as a world is my bed.

I have built a cocoon of content—
that my spirit take on
a budding-place for wings—
for a thought that is flight—
Do not awaken me.
Tomorrow cries soon to me.

Leave me this rest,
this blindness, and dark,
before
I tailspin to a cocoon of dust.
Nor inspire the imperative urge—
One breath
let me lie with no memories—no thinking—
content—
ere the silver shroud's rent.

AMELIA WENSLEY

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Facts and Figures

CANADIANS IN AND OUT OF WORK: A SURVEY OF ECONOMIC CLASSES AND THEIR RELATION TO THE LABOR MARKET: Leonard C. Marsh; (McGill Social Research Series, No. 9); Oxford University Press; pp. xxii; 503; \$3.00.

ONE OF THE UNFORTUNATE FEATURES of our highly complex civilization is the necessity of relying on a bureau of statistics to inform us as to what our neighbors are doing. The simple reports of local justices of the peace have given way to exhaustive inventories of the nation's population carried out by armies of census enumerators. The adjustments to a condition where the determination of public policy depends upon the assessment of masses of complicated statistical schedules have imposed heavy strains upon institutions of government, and evidence that much of the machinery of state is still not adapted to present needs is to be found in the predominance of lawyers in parliamentary chambers and in the dilapidated state of the building housing Dr. Coat's staff. Scholars, reluctant to mar the aesthetic effect of neatly rounded paragraphs by the introduction of clumsy tables, have advanced little beyond the politicians in exploring statistical avenues of information. So long as we lived under conditions of economic expansion, where additions to the population by births or immigration had little effect upon standards of living, or where changes in the price level resulting in business dislocations were buried in records of individual bankruptcies, there was little need to examine into the increasingly complicated mechanism of our economic society. It was only when problems of economic disorganization became pressing that we found it necessary to know more about the tedious details of the world in which we lived. Faced with a problem of unemployment, we were distressed to find we had no adequate means of discovering how many, or what sort of, people were unemployed.

This task of discovering what our neighbors do is only now being seriously undertaken in Canada, and the director of social research in McGill University deserves credit for his enterprising work in this field. It is probably evidence of the lag in research of a statistical character that such studies as this one by Mr. Marsh are not related more closely to the work which has been done by Canadian economic historians and students of the Canadian economy. It is unfortunate that a study which sets out to provide a general social perspective to the problem of employment and unemployment in Canada should assume to such an extent the character of a census monograph. As a survey, however, of the occupational structure and nature of unemployment in Canada, Mr. Marsh has brought together a body of highly significant and informative material. The size of the various occupational groups, the extent of regional, ethnic, income and educational differentials, the degree of occupational mobility or stratification, and the ramifications of the problem of unemployment, are explored to the limits permitted by census records.

Mr. Marsh convincingly demonstrates the growing tendency towards occupational stratification with the

increasing maturity of the Canadian economy. A free labor market—a condition of a frontier expanding society—has given way to a market characterized by many economic and cultural rigidities. Mobility obtains between occupations on the same level, but methods of recruitment, different educational requirements, and family or group influences restrict movement from one level to another. Income, education, social prestige and liability to unemployment coincide with occupational status.

Given these two conditions—the distinct advantages of certain occupational groups over others and the difficulties of movement between occupational levels—the tendency for occupational lines to be identified with class lines becomes marked. The range of occupational groups assumes the character of a hierarchy reaching up from the unskilled to the proprietary and managerial classes. This grouping, Mr. Marsh attempts to show, corresponds roughly with the chief classes in society: the working, farming, middle and well-to-do.

The evidence presented by the author respecting this relationship between the occupational and class structures is suggestive and instructive. But it may be questioned whether an analysis of occupational groupings affords an adequate basis for the construction of a concept of class differentiation. The failure to integrate the group of farmers and farm workers within such a generalized concept indicates a weakness in the author's analysis. What he has done is to set up an order of social classes which corresponded with his order of occupational groups. Thus the establishment of a relationship between the two means very little. It would be unfair, however, to emphasize the failings of what is not an essential feature of the study. A thorough analysis of the class structure of Canada is yet to be made. Mr. Marsh has provided stimulating leads in that direction, while he has given us a comprehensive survey of the occupational structure.

S. D. CLARK

The Americans and the Americas

TOTAL DEFENSE: Clark Foreman and Joan Raushenbush; Toronto, McClelland & Stewart; \$1.75.

THIS IS A NOVEL KIND OF BOOK in a good many ways. It is printed as a typewritten memorandum instead of in the ordinary book form. It is divided into two parts, the first of which is a memorandum on the economic conquest of the Americas as it might be written by some of Hitler's economic experts for the Fuehrer's use; and the second is a memorandum in reply on an all-American economic program, addressed to the president, congress and people of the United States by the two authors.

The thesis of the book is that what is to be feared in the western hemisphere is not a military invasion but a form of economic penetration by Germany into South America which will circumvent the Monroe doctrine without needing to use armed force and which may be so successful that it will leave North America as well as South at the mercy of a German-Europa in future world trade. The exultant plans of the German experts for taking advantage of social and economic

conditions in Latin America to establish a condition in which Germany will dominate first the external trade and then the internal politics of one country after another are set forth in a very striking way. Anyone who has been reading about recent developments in South America will know that these plans have been carried out to a considerable extent already. The authors believe that the only way of meeting them is to build up a western-hemisphere economy.

The weakness of the Americas is that they have great surpluses of raw materials and foodstuffs which they must sell if they are to survive; a German dominated Europe would buy these surpluses by dealing individually with each seller in a buyer's market. To counteract this the sellers must organize co-operatively under United States leadership and with American financial help into a united selling agency. Furthermore, a long list of strategically important raw materials which the United States now lacks could be produced in Latin America if American capital is forthcoming. This would strengthen the United States economically and militarily, and would help to raise the low standard of living south of the Gulf of Mexico. Eventually, the authors maintain, some of the Latin American states must be encouraged to industrialize their economies. All America faces the prospect of permanently restricted European markets for its agricultural products, and the North and South American communities must work out increasingly interdependent economies with one another, if they are to be genuinely independent and to have a chance of becoming genuinely democratic in the post-war world. For a rising standard of living is as essential to the growth of democracy as air is to a living man.

These far-reaching plans are worked out here in a most attractive fashion. Critics in the United States of this kind of planning have expressed doubts of the capacity of the American people to undertake any enterprise which includes the southern part of South America and have been inclined to think that both economic and military plans should be confined to the Caribbean area which can be effectively organized. The reply of the authors is that, if Germany gets a foothold in such countries as Argentina, Chile and Brazil, the rest of Latin America cannot be held secure from her penetration. At any rate President Roosevelt has publicly committed the United States to the military defense of the whole hemisphere, and committees in Washington are working vigorously on just such economic plans as are outlined in this book. This is what Pan-Americanism is going to mean if it is going to mean anything real in the future. With a New Deal administration now practically assured for a third term in Washington, Canadians should be making themselves familiar with the kind of thinking that is being done in New Deal circles about the future of the western hemisphere.

F. H. U.

REPORT ON AMERICA: Robert Waithman; Toronto, Saunders; pp. 384; \$4.

THE FAT YEARS AND THE LEAN: Bruce Minton and John Stuart; Toronto, McLeod; pp. 454; \$4.75.

THE FIRST OF THESE BOOKS is one more of the many writings by journalists to explain the people of one country to those of another. This time it is an English journalist explaining the United States to his fellow countrymen. Mr. Waithman has been for some

time the New York correspondent of the London News Chronicle. He must be one of the most intelligent Englishmen at present on duty on this side of the ocean. His book makes remarkably good reading whether he is telling what President and Mrs. Roosevelt are like and what the New Deal has been aiming at, or giving his impressions of New York, or explaining the pains to which the American woman goes in making herself desirable and the success which she achieves, or analyzing the processes by which American opinion is gradually mobilizing itself towards intervention in the war. On the last topic a good many Americans would have criticisms to make of his argument. After all, according to the Gallup poll, only 17% of them want to go to war at this moment. But Mr. Waithman has seen enough of the Americans to know how mistaken and insular most English ideas about them are, and he loses few opportunities to enlighten his English readers. He is sarcastic about the "school of thought which regards the United States as a British colonial possession which has been accorded greater autonomy than any of the others and is regrettably prone to take advantage of its liberty." He shows his understanding especially when he discusses American isolationism and concludes that "it has been one of the great human aspirations of recent times and it has built a great nation." Altogether this book wins another good mark for the foreign correspondents. Why is it in these days that they seem to have so much more insight than the historians and political scientists and economists?

The second book is a history which attempts to give the predominant economic and political trends in the United States since the end of the first world war. Its authors expound the communist party line throughout. Their story is of "the peoples' struggles against monopoly and hunger, of the conscious and unconscious drive toward socialism." On the whole I found it dull reading. The tone is monotonously bad-tempered, and the moralistic rhetoric becomes none the less tiresome when it is so often well justified. There is a great deal of useful economic analysis, and a great deal of what at first seemed to be useless political analysis of party platforms until one realized that all this was meant to show that the communist party was right at each election and all the other parties wrong or dishonest. The chief sinner throughout is, of course, the socialist party. The authors are, however, very fair in not exaggerating the influence of the C. P. But it was always right, no matter how much the party line might change about dual unionism or collective security. The book naturally ends with the people desiring peace and being carried into imperialist war by the monopolists and Rooseveltians.

F. H. U.

Money Matters

CANADIAN INVESTMENTS AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE PROBLEMS: edited by J. F. Parkinson; University of Toronto Press; pp. 292; \$3.

THIS COLLECTION OF STUDIES by twenty-one different authors—originally lectures delivered in two extension courses in the University of Toronto—deal with two quite separate though related subjects, namely foreign exchange problems and a description of Canadian investment machinery. The studies are factual and descriptive, not critical: their purpose is to show what is

done and how it is done, not to discuss whether it should be done. This is especially true of the second part, wherein men of experience in different kinds of investment business describe that aspect of finance in which they have specialized. The book does not deal, except incidentally (though there are two essays on the workings of the exchange control board) with the special problems of war finance, but rather with the normal situation as it had developed at the outbreak of hostilities. On the whole, the authors are to be congratulated upon the clarity and simplicity of their expositions which are quite intelligible even to such an outsider in matters of finance as the present reviewer.

The first part, on foreign exchange, will probably be of more immediate interest to the non-financial reader, for it is extremely topical and ties up more directly with broader political issues. Professor Parkinson's own contributions on "Canada's international accounts and the foreign exchanges" and "the mechanism of international adjustments" are particularly enlightening, as well as is Professor Plumptre on "The gold standard" and "The Bank of Canada." There are significant differences of outlook between some of the writers which will not escape the critical reader: for example, Mr. Harvie hopes that "these regulations (of exchange control) will be merely temporary," while Mr. Plumptre concludes: "Whether we shall shed this direct form of regulation when the war is over seems somewhat dubious."

To those who are not concerned directly with the financial machinery of the country (and to some that are), it appears as a terrifying and Sphinx-like mystery. This book would do a great deal to remove, not indeed the terror, but some of the mystery. It does not take for granted more knowledge of financial matters than the educated reader should possess, and it will give him a bird's eye view of the complicated mechanisms of investment and exchange, of the function of banks, underwriters, bond dealers, insurance companies, trust companies and the rest. As a source of purely factual information it should be very useful indeed. If the enthusiasm of some of the authors leave him with the impression that capitalist finance is the best possible system in the best possible world, in spite of occasional depressions, war and other acts of God, then I hope such a reader will take a short walk about some of our slums—that should soon get things in the right perspective again.

G. M. A. GRUBE

A Modern Classic of Humor

PORLOCK: Reginald Hunter; Caxton Press; \$2 (U.S.); pp. 152.

THIS IS A FINE NEW EDITION of a genuinely funny book. But those who expect a laugh in every line will be disappointed. The random page is boring; only the cumulative effect of all the anecdotes reveals Porlock in his grotesque unity. He is not the sort of man who entertains by his brilliant repartee; it is his profound and unrelieved dullness which makes him an object of comedy. One laughs at him cynically and in a superior way, for he is a walking exhibit of all those characteristics in ourselves which we have tried so carefully to hide from prying eyes. Even the author seems to feel that way towards the unfortunate man, and his air of kindly

patronage is at times quite offensive.

Porlock's origin is obscure. He was apparently raised by a "mentor" who completed his education by sending him to university. Having become big with learning, he sped like an eel at spawning time to his natural habitat, a New York rooming house, where, surrounded by furniture as dingy as himself, he settled down to his life-long lugubrious denial of life. His immense faculty for accumulating useless knowledge enabled him to pay his room rent by obtaining positions as an "usher" or assisting in the compilation of an encyclopedia. There existence ended. The two main driving forces of his personality, fear and self-pity, inhibited his development in any new direction.

Porlock is completely incompetent socially; he understands nobody, least of all himself, and his relationships with others are of necessity on a remote plane. His friends observe him as a strange and hardly human freak. He has no understanding, no intuition, no taste. He is interested only in himself and in the huge store of facts which he has collected.

It goes without saying that he never gets to first base with the female sex. Women repel Porlock, and Porlock beyond any shadow of doubt repels women. They see no matrimonial raptures in his furtive eye. In fact all that Porlock is left with is a morbid preoccupation with the subject of sex. He discusses his inhibitions at great length with his acquaintances, and evidently derives a peculiar satisfaction from his deficiencies.

Porlock is the central character of the book, but he is not by any means the whole book. To some extent he is a peg, on which Mr. Hunter has suspended the New York rooming house for exhibition.

Numerous other characters flit in and out of the pages. Not one of them would fit into the average family bosom. There is a law student with a telescope, which he applies to the windows of the house opposite. There is a woman called Miss Dawson who succeeds in marrying Porlock, and numerous other disreputable social peccadilloes.

Mr. Hunter draws no moral. He merely records in simple language, what he regards as funny. Porlock's destiny is as obscure as his origin. Nothing happens to him, and his exit is as vague as his appearance.

DAVID STEVENSON

Penguin

LAWRENCE OF ARABIA; ZIONISM AND PALESTINE:
Sir Ronald Storrs; Collins (Penguin); pp. 128; 20c.

A THIRTY-SEVEN PAGE SKETCH of Lawrence of Arabia (another!) and a discussion of Zionism twice as long, without any connection between the two, except that both are based on chapters of the author's "reorientations" published in 1937, and both are part of his experience in the Near East. "This particular Penguin," as he tells us himself, "will lurch and shuffle rather a top-heavy little fowl into the public eye."

The sketch on Lawrence does not add much to our previous knowledge of that mysterious person, but it is a sincere tribute of friendship and admiration, and reads very well. The main interest of the essay on Zionism is that it is written by one who was governor of Jerusalem for nine years, and therefore considers the question from the point of view of the administrator whose job

it is to find a compromise between irreconcilables—not a task to be envied. "Two hours of Arab grievances drive me to the Synagogue, while after an intensive course of Zionist propaganda I am prepared to embrace Islam," says Sir Ronald, and no wonder. He follows the history of Zionism since the last war, and there is a postscript which brings it up to date.

WITH CUSTER'S CAVALRY: Katherine Gibson Fougera; The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Idaho; pp. 285; \$3.00 (U.S.).

THE STORY of the complete annihilation of General Custer's famous Seventh Cavalry by the Sioux Indians, on June 26, 1876, at the Little Big Horn in the Dakota Hills, has become part of America's folk-lore. Although Mrs. Fougera claims to give us a new perspective of that massacre, her story of the Seventh Cavalry, written from her mother's memoirs and her father's letters, only serves to perpetuate the myths and legends of gallantry and glamor that surround the name of George Armstrong Custer. It was because of his wife's premonition that Lieutenant Gibson did not accompany General Custer on his last mission. The final word has yet to be said concerning the greed and selfishness of those who fought the Indian wars in the westward march of empire in the United States. But the real value of Mrs. Fougera's book lies in her simple reiteration of the courage of those women who accompanied their husbands to the Dakota wilderness. How they developed ways and means of living co-operatively together, solving the difficulties engendered by the bleak climate in the then raw, sparsely

settled west, making friends with the Indians, wringing joy and beauty from their simple existence; and finally meeting with heroic stoicism the tragedy they knew instinctively would some day come, is a fascinating and engrossing story.

M. N. W.

UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARDS CHINA: Paul H. Clyde; Duke University Press; pp. 321; \$3.50

THIS IS NO DISCUSSION of policy but, as the sub-title tells us, a work of reference for students of American policy in the Far East. A selection of essential diplomatic and public documents such as this is of great interest at a time when the Far East may prove to be one of the deciding factors in the world-crisis. The documents are grouped with but a few lines of introduction on each question.

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Warships at Work: A. C. Hardy, with illustrations by Laurence Dunn; Collins (Penguin); pp. 144; 20c.

To understand news of naval engagements, we must all be familiar with the different types of warships, capital ships, destroyers, cruisers, and the rest. This little book is a very useful guide for the uninitiated. It lists and explains the different kinds of craft in service in the navies of the world, and their specific functions. The book is copiously illustrated by drawings, and its range extends from the big battleships to the modest minesweeper. It also draws a startling picture of the developments in shipbuilding in the last thirty years. Mr. Hardy is himself a naval engineer with long experience of the sea, and he has written a very useful little book.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Fear No More, Poems by Living English Poets; Macmillan (Cambridge); pp. 96; \$1.10.

The Stone of Chastity; Margery Sharpe; McClelland & Stewart (Little Brown); pp. 280; \$2.75.

Lyton Strachey; K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar; Macmillan (Chatto & Windus); pp. 208; \$1.65.

Troubled Waters; Roger Vercel; Macmillan (Random House); pp. 245; \$3.00.

In the Money; William Carlos Williams; New Directions; pp. 382; \$2.50 (U.S.).

America; Franz Kafka; New Directions; pp. 299; \$2.50 (U.S.).

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If War Comes; Percy W. Bidwell; pp. 32; 10c (U.S.).

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Essays must be not more than 2,500 words in length, and must deal constructively with the problems, internal and external, which will confront Canada after the war, and how they should be met.

Essays may be written either in English or French. They should be in legible handwriting, or typewritten, on one side of the paper only.

A pseudonym must accompany each entry, and must be written on the outside of a sealed envelope containing the name and address of the contestant, and also on the first page of the manuscript. Contestant's name must not appear on the manuscript, nor on the outside of the sealed envelope.

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